

JANUARY 1925  
TWENTY CENTS

# FEDERATIONIST

UNIVERSITY  
OF MICHIGAN

JAN 6

PERIODICAL  
READING ROOM



What Will the  
**NEW CONGRESS DO?**

"See you at  
the  
Union Meeting"



If you do your part to make your organization alive and strong, you can look forward to better pay and better working conditions in the future. And also greater security than you enjoy today. On the other hand, if you neglect your union and it becomes debilitated, it cannot do an effective job for you. A weak union can't win higher wages and improved conditions. Weak unions are pushed

around. So, in fairness to yourself and your fellow trade unionists, won't you do your part to help build your union? It isn't hard. Just take a genuine interest in union affairs. Study your union's problems. Bring new members into the fold. And attend union meetings regularly. This is the sensible, practical way to build your union—and it will pay off for you in satisfaction and in security.

**ATTEND MEETINGS REGULARLY**

# The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

JANUARY, 1955

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 62, No. 1

## In This Issue

HD  
8055  
A5  
A2

WILL CONGRESS DO ANYTHING FOR OUR CHILDREN?	2
.....Andrew J. Biemiller	
WRONG MORALLY AND WRONG ECONOMICALLY	4
.....Maurice A. Hutcheson	
WHEN 'RIGHT-TO-WORK' TOOK OVER.....	6
STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS.....	7
Irving Brown	
FORCED LABOR ON '56 AGENDA OF I.L.O.	9
George P. Delaney	
LABOR PICTURES OF THE MONTH.....	10
THE RIGHT TO WRECK.....	12
DECENT HOMES WILL MEAN LESS DELINQUENCY.....	15
EDITORIALS .....	16
THE STORY OF WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.....	17
.....Nelson H. Cruikshank	
A REPORT ON CENTRAL AMERICA TODAY Serafino Romualdi	18
LABOR'S TROUBLES IN IOWA.....Ray Mills and Earl J. Baum	21
BUT MOSCOW SAYS IT'S 'DEMOCRACY'.....Henry Rutz	22
LABOR NEWS BRIEFS.....	24
'UNION WAS ESSENTIAL'.....	26
U.S. FARM WORKERS ARE PAID THE LEAST	27
.....Seymour Brandwein	
COMMENTS OF OTHER PUBLICATIONS.....	31
WHAT THEY SAY.....	32
Inside	
JUNIOR UNION STORY .....	Annabel Lee Glenn Cover

## Invocation

The following was the invocation given by the Rev. A. Dudley Ward, executive secretary, Board of Social and Economic Relations, The Methodist Church, at the recent convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in Cincinnati:

O Lord, our God, we bow in humility before Thee this day, confessing our weakness and limitation and gratefully acknowledging Thy power and mercy. We thank Thee that we live in countries where freedom is cherished and democracy is enshrined. We pray for the leaders of our nations and the heads of governments of other nations which are represented here. We thank Thee for the trade union movement which stands as a great bulwark of strength to serve the working people of the world.

We are particularly grateful for those who use their hands to fashion the buildings which grace our lands. For the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners we are especially thankful. Be pleased, O God, to bless this great Brotherhood here assembled in convention. May the president and all the officers be courageous and dedicated to advance the interests of the men they are elected to serve. May these delegates be vigilant in their sense of responsibility to further the cause of their union by democratic participation. May leaders and members alike be consecrated to the furtherance of the common good of all people everywhere.

O God, Thou hast bidden us pray for the coming of Thy kingdom, in which righteousness shall be done on earth. We have treasured Thy words, but we have forgotten their meaning, and Thy great hope has grown dim.

We bless Thee for the inspired souls of all ages who saw afar the shining City of God, and by faith left the profit of the present to follow their vision. We rejoice that today the hope of these lonely hearts is becoming the clear faith of millions.

As we have mastered nature that we may gain wealth, help us now to master the social relations of mankind that we may gain justice and a world of brothers. For what shall it profit our nation if it gain numbers and riches, and lose the sense of the living God and the joy of human brotherhood? Make us determined to live by truth and not by lies, to found our common life on the eternal foundations of righteousness and love, and no longer to prop the tottering house of wrong by legalized cruelty and force.

Help us to make the welfare of all the supreme law of our lands that they may be built strong and secure on the love of all their citizens. Cast down the throne of Mammon and whoever grinds the life of men, and set up Thy throne, O God. Show Thy erring children at last the way from the City of Destruction to the City of Love, and fulfill the longings of the prophets of humanity.

Our God, once more we make Thy truth our prayer: "Thy kingdom come! Thy will be done on earth!" Amen.

Published monthly by the American Federation of Labor at the A. F. of L. Building, Washington 1, D. C. Printed in Washington. Editor—**GEORGE MEANY**. Managing Editor—**BERNARD TASSLER**. Subscriptions, \$2 a year in U.S. and Canada. Other rates on application. Entered as second-class matter at Washington and accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided in Section 1103, Act of Oct. 3, 1917. No paid advertising is ever accepted. Material appearing in this magazine may not be reprinted without prior written permission.

# Will Congress Do Anything for Our Children?



*A rise of 22 per cent in school enrollment is due in a few years. Where are the schools? If they are to be built, U. S. must help*

By ANDREW J. BIEMILLER  
*Member, A. F. of L. Legislative Committee*

FEDERAL aid for school construction will be one of the most important questions to come before the Eighty-fourth Congress. During the closing weeks of the Eighty-third Congress, the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare reported a bill favorably, but it received no action. A subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor held hearings last fall and has recommended a bill to the new Congress but took no action during the last session.

The American Federation of Labor has long stressed the need for this legislation. At the 1954 convention, in the course of his keynote speech, President Meany said:

"What about building schools? We are told, of course, that schools are a local problem. Well, if you went over the statistics of General Hershey when people are examined for their eligibility and availability for military service, you would find that schools are a national problem, that

the welfare of the children of this country, their education, certainly should be the concern of the national government; but there is no federal aid to education, despite the fact that communities from one end of this country to the other are unable, because of the local tax load, to build schools to adequately house the children. So we got no help there from Congress."

Why was there no action? Surely no one can deny that the education of our children is of vital importance to the future of our country.

What issue can possibly prove more important in the years to come? While America today has more than its share of the world's problems, how much worse off will we be a generation hence if our children do not receive a fully adequate education? Unless they are properly prepared for the task of governing the nation, trained for the skilled jobs in American industry and given the inspiration to create new advances in science and

the arts, our democracy will be greatly weakened and all our efforts to preserve the values of the American system will have been in vain.

Our public schools are the heart of our educational system. It is our unpleasant duty today to face the fact that the public school system in the United States can only be described in terms of a crisis. To use the word "crisis" is no exaggeration. Evidence of this crisis is everywhere. Overcrowded schools, double shifts, use of makeshift classrooms, heavier teaching loads, second-hand equipment and facilities—these are some of the ways the crisis in the public schools has manifested itself.

These conditions have not been the result of negligence or failure by those who are administering our public school system. Teachers and school officials have long been aware of the problems that each year are becoming more acute. Teachers, in particular, have performed a miracle with the meager facilities and the

overcrowded conditions with which they have to cope. They have never received the appreciation they deserve for performing their task, which in many ways is the most burdensome in our society.

The current crisis has a single major cause. It arises simply because the American people, having faith in the future of America, have translated this faith into a very substantial increase in the country's population. In 1953 the total number of births in the U.S. reached a new high short of 4,000,000. Since 1945 the number of births each year has averaged 3,725,000, over 50 per cent higher than the 2,432,000 average recorded during the decade of the Thirties.

In time an infant becomes a school child. Slowly but surely, higher birth rates are reflected in school attendance records, first at the elementary level and later at the secondary level. The net result has been a tidal wave of children which threatens to engulf our entire educational system, lowering the quality of teaching, forcing schools to overflow into substandard buildings and creating overworked facilities and equipment of all types.

It has been estimated that 29,600,000 students were enrolled in public schools in continental U.S. during the 1953-54 school year. Six years hence the total is expected to rise to 36,250,000, an increase of 22 per cent. To show the impact of the increase at the different school levels, it should be noted that the elementary grades from kindergarten to the sixth grade are expected to have an increase of 14 per cent but Grades 7 and 8 an increase of 47 per cent. In this way does the tidal wave of children move into the higher school grades.

Everybody is familiar in general terms with the problems that are created by this heavy increase in school enrollment. All Americans know vaguely that school buildings are overcrowded and facilities inadequate. However, because few of us realize the *magnitude* of the current crisis, I shall cite a few simple figures concerning the adequacy of today's school buildings to meet today's education needs.

Most of this material is derived from a report issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and prepared as a result of a special school facilities survey authorized by Public Law 815, Eighty-first Congress. Under the terms of

the law, federal funds to cover half the cost of a survey of school facilities were made available to the states. The actual survey was conducted by the various state educational agencies. The published report of the survey includes information obtained in forty-three states and territories, comprising approximately 81 per cent of all school enrollment in the United States.

#### **Size of School Plants**

The one-room school-house has by no means disappeared with the horse and buggy. The fact is that 43 per cent of all school plants in the U.S. have only one classroom and an additional 26 per cent have only two to six rooms. Nine per cent of all elementary school children are taught in one-room schools, while an additional 21 per cent are taught in school plants with two to six rooms.

#### **Age of School Buildings**

It is equally shocking to realize that 27 per cent of all elementary school buildings housing 13 per cent of all elementary pupils are over fifty years old. An additional 26 per cent of elementary buildings housing 22 per cent of the pupils are from thirty-one to fifty years old.

#### **General Rating of School Plants**

In accordance with recognized evaluation techniques, all school plants included in this survey were rated on the basis of such criteria as location, structural adequacy, sanitation facilities and pupil safety. All ratings were made by a state or local educational agency. The ratings show that fully 33 per cent of all school plants and 37 per cent of all elementary schools were rated "unsatisfactory." Only 27 per cent of all school plants were rated "satisfactory," with the remainder considered only "fair."

These few figures clearly demonstrate the overwhelming need which now exists for additional public school construction.

How can this need be met? Here in America, we are quite proud of our locally administered public school system. The American Federation of Labor has always supported local school administration. This arrangement has stimulated citizen participation, encouraged local initiative and helped to develop high standards of educational programs and facilities.

At the present time, however, the problems confronting the schools are

far greater than we have ever faced before. School officials, as well as local and state governments, are making heroic efforts to meet these problems. Since the end of World War II, expenditures on schools have risen. In many cases new schools have been constructed. Additional financing has been arranged by floating special bond issues and, on occasion, by the imposition of additional taxes.

Yet, despite these efforts, the need now is greater than ever before. The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare demonstrated this fact overwhelmingly in her statement to the Senate Committee last spring. At that time she pointed out:

"The number of new classrooms provided in the past years approximated 47,000 in 1951, 50,000 in 1952 and more than 50,000 in 1953, but it is not keeping up with the increase in classrooms needed. The number of new classrooms needed annually is approximately 117,000. To provide the more than 340,000 needed classrooms would cost \$10 billion to \$12 billion."

Only action by the federal government can solve this problem. The job is far too big for the state governments. A few states that may be in the enviable financial position of having the resources to solve their own problems are, in the main, the very



**MR. BIEMILLER**

states where the school construction problem is least serious. Almost all the states are faced with a problem which is far beyond their financial resources.

The vast differences in school construction needs among the states also point up the need for federal action.

It has (*Continued on Page 28*)

# WRONG MORALLY AND WRONG ECONOMICALLY

By MAURICE A. HUTCHESON  
*President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners*

**WORLD WAR II** introduced the term "D-Day" into our language. D-Day was the day when everything was committed, when all the planning and thinking and logistic manipulation of months or years were thrown into battle.

If there was a "D-Year" in the war, I never heard of it. However, it seems to me that this new year—1955—is going to be D-Year for organized labor as far as "right-to-work" laws are concerned. Over the past several years some seventeen states have adopted these misnamed, misbegotten laws. Mostly they have been states which are predominantly agricultural. But this year an all-out effort to pass such laws is going to be made in many industrial states.

State Legislatures meet this year in almost every state. This gives those who want to see unions transformed from militant, effective bargaining units into glorified debating societies the opportunity for which they have been looking and planning for many years.

Much has been written about "right-to-work" laws. Farsighted people have attacked them from many angles. I think it is about time that all the objections were wrapped up in one over-all summary.

As I see it, the so-called "right-to-work" laws are wrong morally and economically.

They are wrong morally because they are deceptive on their very face. They contain no real right-to-work—only the right to disrupt, tear down and destroy democratically established conditions.

Do these laws give an unemployed man the right to demand a job? No. Do they place any sort of a penalty on an employer who refuses to hire a worker who is over forty years of age? No. Do they insure a member of a

minority group an equal opportunity to compete for a job? No. Do they set up any guarantees which prohibit an employer from separating a man from his job for anything other than just cause? No.

If they do not give a worker any of these rights, then just what rights do they give him? They give him the right to enjoy the fruits of collective bargaining without carrying any share of the burden. They give him the right to undermine all union efforts to improve wages and working conditions through self-denial and sacrifice, and still enjoy all the benefits which that self-denial and sacrifice have achieved. They give him the right to undercut, disrupt and destroy with impunity, regardless of how drastically his actions may jeopardize the common welfare of all his fellow workers.

If this were the common practice in all our social and economic life, there might not be any room for complaint on the part of the working people. But such is not the case. In the professions, doctors and lawyers are duty-bound to belong to medical associations and bar associations in order to practice. In business, "fair trade" laws compel a retailer to charge a fixed price for an article, regardless of whether he wants to charge that particular price or not. None of these things the backers of the sadly misnamed "right-to-work" laws deem compulsion. But for an association of working people to expect a working man to comply with rules and regulations adopted by the majority for the common good is, in their opinion, tyranny.

It is on this "compulsion" angle that "right-to-work" proponents are hanging their hats. Over the years newspaper stories have pictured union members as dominated, frightened,

cowed individuals paying union dues against their will in order to work.

Is this a true picture? Let the figures speak for themselves.

During the four years in which union-security elections were required, the National Labor Relations Board conducted 46,119 polls, with union-security winning 97 per cent of them. There were 6,542,564 workers eligible to vote in those elections, 5,547,478 valid ballots were cast at the polls, and 91 per cent of them were cast in favor of union security. So overwhelming was the support for union security that the law was amended to eliminate the necessity for the NLRB's conducting these costly and burdensome elections.

Does this sound as if the working people were coerced and driven into unions against their wills? How many attorneys had a chance to express an opinion during the past four years as to whether they wanted to belong to a bar association as a prerequisite to practicing? How many doctors had a similar opportunity? None. Yet the "right-to-workers" are still blabbering about "emancipation" and "freedom" for the union man. They are furiously tilting windmills of coercion which they erected themselves through propaganda and promotion.

To further emphasize this point, let me quote from a letter which a Catholic priest in Louisiana wrote to a New Orleans paper when a "right-to-work" law recently was passed in that state:

"Anyone with intellectual integrity knows that there is no more 'compulsion' in voluntary management-labor contracts with a union-shop clause than there is in 'compulsory' tax laws, local, state and federal."

"There is no more 'compulsion' in free contracts containing 'maintenance of membership' clauses than there is in various Church laws re-

quiring obligatory financial support of the Church by those who receive Church benefits.

"Citizens enjoying community benefits *MUST* pay their fair share of taxes, *OR ELSE*. Honest thinking people do not call this compulsion but plain justice and fair play. Tax-dodgers, civic or church, are like the free riders and hitch-hikers who take union benefits without union membership or union support. The R.T.W. bill encourages and blesses the tax-dodgers in industrial life."

Another prominent Catholic priest, Father William J. Kelley, for many years an ace arbitrator for New York State, has gone even farther. Writing recently in *The Machinist*, he concluded:

"(1) Right-to-work laws are immoral according to Catholic social teaching.

"(2) No man or woman of good will shall contribute money to defray the 'educational campaign expenses.' To contribute financial aid would be morally wrong.

"(3) All good men and women, Protestants, Jews and Catholics, should seek by every *just* means to get such right-to-work laws repealed and should oppose them whenever they are proposed.

"(4) Men of good will should not be a party to or cooperate with the proponents of right-to-work laws.

"(5) The right-to-work bills don't guarantee the individual any right at all. They provide him with an opportunity to work alone, to work at less than union wages.

"(6) The right-to-work laws recall the 'American Plan' or Open Shop Plan of 1920-1924, which led to low wages.

"(7) The right-to-work laws may well be an invitation to disaster of the general welfare."

So much for the moral aspects of these misnamed "right-to-work" laws. Let us turn for a moment to the economic aspects.

I do not think that I need to belabor the point that working people must be prosperous or nobody is prosperous. For all the technical brains and engineering genius and financial wizardry General Motors possesses, the corporation might consist solely of a dilapidated factory on a side street of Detroit except for one thing—namely, that millions of American workers were able, through their unions, to ele-

vate their earnings to the point where they could afford a car. If workers could not afford a car, all the skill and brains concentrated at G.M. would not be able to make the corporation anything more than just another factory.

When I say that some sort of union security is the backbone of stable labor relations, I am not standing alone. A good many employers, in addition to most students of industrial relations, agree that maintenance-of-membership clauses contribute to responsible unionism and make possible constructive relationships between employers and employees.



MR. HUTCHESON

Where no maintenance of membership exists, a union constantly is engaged in fighting for its existence. It is forced to devote time and effort to maintaining its membership, time and effort that might otherwise be spent in building a constructive relationship with the employer. As a result, both the union and management suffer.

On what grounds, then, do some businessmen oppose maintenance-of-membership clauses? Perhaps the best tipoff comes from Edward P. Colwell, state chairman of the Maryland "right-to-work" committee. Since all "right-to-work" propaganda reads about the same, despite protestations that there is no connection between campaigns in various states, Mr. Colwell's remarks can be accepted as typical. In a recent article he said:

"If any man has his heart set on

going into business, with its risks, its hard work and its nervous strain, more power to him. But it is nonsense to pretend that new business, young business can immediately contract with unions to pay going rates that are paid by well-established, large firms.

"If, then, new and growing businesses are not allowed to compete by paying wages that are not necessarily as high as those of older firms, where is the seed bed of the future?"

Apparently Mr. Colwell sees the lunch buckets of working men and of their kids as the legitimate seed beds of future industrial expansion. In view of the fact that practically all "right-to-work" propaganda insists that the purpose of the laws is not to break down wages or weaken unions, Mr. Colwell's candor is particularly revealing. At least he is frank in admitting that "right-to-work" laws can be used to undercut union wage scales.

All these years I have been under the impression that the free enterprise system was based solely on equality of opportunity for everyone. Apparently this is a mistaken idea. Of all the backers of "right-to-work" laws Mr. Colwell, at least, seems inclined to believe that the hide of the worker is the place from which to extract a competitive advantage.

This might be a good place to ask Mr. Colwell why the same sort of reasoning does not apply to doctors, lawyers and merchants. Why should a medical association bar a young doctor from advertising appendectomies at \$75 when the fee suggested by the association is \$100? Advertising is a legitimate business. In fact, it is one of the major props of our whole economy. But dare a young doctor advertise cut rates? Hardly.

And what about the neophyte in the hardware business? He may feel that he can make a fortune selling a certain item for \$25. However, because some other hardware dealer and the manufacturer entered into a "fair trade" agreement (perhaps without his even knowing anything about it), he must charge the "fair-traded" price of \$30 or face punishment. Does Mr. Colwell consider any of these things detrimental to the development of future seed beds of expansion? If he does, he has not said so.

One of the basic tenets of democracy is that there cannot be both fish and fowl in any given situation. All must be fish or fowl. To single out

unions in applying restrictions against majority rule is neither fair nor American.

In closing, I want to turn to Father Kelley once more. In his illuminating analysis of "right-to-work" laws, Father Kelley holds:

"I think for a man to insist that he shall exercise his God-given right and duty to work against a particular employer and against the majority rule of his fellow workers is unjust. I hold that history testifies that the union shop in America has been a stabilizing influence in industrial relations. I hold that the same American history testifies that 'open shop' legislation has only led to unrest and low wages. Such was the story of 'the American Plan,' 1920-1924. I hold that such legislation makes a mockery of the constitutional right to organize for the common good and welfare."

In Father Kelley's last sentence, I think, lies the crux of the whole matter. Do citizens have the right to organize for the common good? They

do. School districts organize to educate the young. A family with no children pays school taxes the same as those who do have children. Why? Because an educated citizenry rewards to everybody's good. Professional men have the right to maintain organizations empowered to protect the standards and ethics of their professions. Why? Because only in that way can they protect themselves against the incompetents and the chiselers who are not above tearing down professional standards for their own selfish ends.

In the final analysis, that is all labor wants—the right to protect the common good against the chiselers.

I do not see how any fair-minded individual can come to any other conclusion. That thousands of citizens do can be attributed to the fact that much of the propaganda put out by the backers of the "right-to-work"

laws is misleading—not excluding the name itself.

A Protestant minister who recently was asked to be a moderator at a "right-to-work" debate in St. Louis bears out this statement. When the discussion was over, he made no bones about the fact that his eyes had been opened; that he learned "right-to-work" laws contain no real right to work—only the right to disrupt and tear down and work against the common good.

In the year that lies ahead of us, the task of all the people who believe in sound, democratic unionism is going to be to get the truth before the people. If and when that becomes an accomplished fact, the "right-to-work" laws will fade from the picture as dramatically as did the misnamed "American Plan" of the 1920s, a plan after which "right-to-work" laws are closely patterned.



## When 'Right-to-Work' Took Over

**I**T just broke the union, that's all," sadly says Robert West, a union chef now living in California, in sizing up Arizona's so-called "right-to-work" law. He spent six months in Phoenix when this union-busting legislation was in effect and he watched wages in hotels and restaurants tumble to levels prevailing before union organization. Brother West now makes his home in Fresno.

Just after he arrived in the California city four months ago, Chef West received a Phoenix labor paper which reported that an Arizona judge had broken the back of the Culinary Workers, Local 621, by declaring union picketing illegal. That same paper graphically illustrated the decline in wages by printing the wage receipt of a dishwasher who was paid in July of 1954 the grand sum of \$1.25 a day plus room and board.

Many of the restaurants and hotels in Phoenix are trying to maintain union standards but are gradually being forced to cut wages to meet the competition of the open-shoppers who are slashing pay at every opportunity.

The Fresno *Labor Citizen* empha-

sizes that this is no hypothetical scare story about what *might* happen. This pay-slashing program which deprives workers of their organizing rights prevails right now in Arizona.

The so-called "right-to-work" law declares union shop contracts illegal and says that workers cannot be required to join a union as a condition of employment.

"On the surface," the Fresno labor paper remarks, "this sounds like a red-hot deal. Nobody would have to pay union dues. We all could save an extra few dollars a month. But it doesn't work out so red-hot in practice. The 'right-to-work' legislation gives nobody the right to work. It gives the employer full power over wages and working conditions and destroys any semblance of collective bargaining and union organization—the only methods that the workers have to raise their standard of living.

"Chef West reminds us that 'right-to-work' was sold with lots of colorful ballyhoo. Pretty girls paraded the streets with petitions. They gave out the line that unions were all right but that deserving veterans were unable

to get work because of union shop contracts. High-priced advertising and sex appeal paid off. The law was passed."

The article reports that in March the union scale for dishwashers in Phoenix was \$8 daily plus two meals. By midsummer some restaurants were paying as low as \$1.25 a day plus room and board.

"During the court hearing at which union picketing was declared illegal," the paper relates, "the judge haughtily asked if the union had the gall to think it was responsible for the wage increases in the Phoenix restaurant industry during the past thirteen years.

"The union dug up these facts: in 1941, as Local 621 began its initial organizing drive, the pay scales for miscellaneous workers (dishwashers included) ranged from \$1 to \$1.50 daily."

**Labor unity will come for the basic reason that the union workers of America need it and want it.**  
—John C. Cort.

# Strength and Weakness

By IRVING BROWN  
*A. F. of L. Representative in Europe*

**R**ECENT flare-ups on the trade union front reveal both the strength and the weakness of Western Europe.

In Britain the spectacular outlaw dock strike involving 44,000 workers was primarily directed against the Trades Union Congress and the legitimate trade union movement. Seizing upon certain economic and trade union issues, W. Barrett, the secretary of the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, attempted to turn his small union into a large national organization which would in effect replace the Transport and General Workers Union of Arthur Deakin in the ports of Great Britain.

In failing to secure this primary objective, Barrett and his organization remain confined to their small area of activity in and around London. And after a strike lasting one month, the union was forced to accept an agreement which is no different from the offer made six months ago by the employers. This failure plus the rebuff of the Trades Union Congress will seriously affect the future of this separate dockers' organization.



MR. BROWN

What is more serious is the fact that the unofficial strike committee was undoubtedly directed and controlled by the Communist Party. The strategic strength of Communists in certain areas of the trade union movement is out of all proportion to their political position in Britain. They can play havoc with the official trade

union movement as well as with the economy of the nation.

However, it is still true that, although these strategic economic cells can plunge Britain into serious strikes which hurt the economy of the country in time of peace, they constitute no real threat if there should be an emergency menacing the national existence. This was demonstrated in the last war and remains true today.

The situation in Britain is the reverse of the one existing in France. The Communists in France cannot pull any successful strikes in time of peace despite their tremendous power in the labor movement, but they certainly constitute a serious threat to the nation if it should be plunged into a national emergency such as a war crisis.

The present French government came into power at a most favorable moment. Industrial activity in France rose last June to a level even higher than that of the boom year 1929. For more than two years there has been a gradual stabilization of the price situation with a more or less definite rise in the relative prosperity of the country. The average workweek has risen to forty-five hours against the standard legal workweek

*Workers with grievances—like these Italians—are used by the Communists to serve Moscow's purposes*



of forty hours. There is almost no unemployment.

Wages have risen moderately, and the government contends that purchasing power of workers has been brought to a higher point than in pre-war years. There has also been—this is unusual for France—a decline in the value placed on gold with a consequent dehoarding *en masse*. This trend, most observers agree, is responsible for the revival of the stock market and the growth of bank deposits. These factors all add up to a favorable picture for the government's program of expanded capital investment.

The trade union movement has not been completely satisfied with the proposals of the present government. Recently there was an increase of 6.50 francs an hour, bringing the monthly minimum to 24,300 francs (\$69.42). This increase affects less than 10 per cent of the working class. The unions have expressed their discontent with this concession. They are waiting to see whether the government will grant their demand for a monthly minimum of 25,166 francs (\$71.90). The government is promising new adjustments next April. For the time being, this promise has taken the edge off any possible resort to strikes.

The present French government is accepted by most of the workers as a sort of "Left" government sincerely interested in their needs. They believe that by next April the Prime Minister will make good his promises. While strike action appears unlikely now, this does not exclude increased discontent and a threat of strike action among government employees.

Union leaders in the government-owned postal, telephone and telegraph industry are standing guard and have informed their members to be vigilant and prepared for action. Their negotiations are not going too well. This is one of the best organized sections of the Force Ouvrière. The postal and communications workers are not too

keenly appreciative of some of the measures that the government may have in mind concerning public service employees. They find it hard to forget that the present Finance Minister, Edgar Faure, was in the Laniel government and that his proposals brought about the general strike of August, 1953.

It is also known that the present Prime Minister, Mendès-France, does not disagree basically with the original proposals of the Laniel government, although he is not in accord with the tactics pursued.

**T**HE recent convention of the F.O. Federation of Government Employees hit out sharply at the government's wage program, which at best would amount to 80 billion francs (\$228,571,000). The demands of the unions would involve a total of 160 billions (\$457,142,000).

In his closing address to the convention, the 79-year-old leader of the union, Pierre Neumeyer, said:

"The government should know that the civil servants are determined to defend themselves. It is time that the government should understand, since no definite decision has been taken as yet, that the problem of readjusting salaries in the civil services cannot be solved by alms-giving. Otherwise, we would have to declare, along with the delegates to this convention, that 'the government's acts with respect to the working class do not tally with the Prime Minister's statements, and the early hopes and promises might lead very shortly to a new and deep disillusionment, the consequences of which the workers can already foresee.'"

There has been a serious reaction from the trade unions to another government proposal—establishment of a reconversion fund of about 25 billion francs (\$71,428,571). The purpose of this fund is to help finance the elimination of marginal firms or their reconversion into more profitable industries. What is normally done in other countries through the functioning of the free economy is now being undertaken by the French government through a system of subsidies.

As is well known, France through cartels and other price-fixing restrictions has built up a more or less protective economy, thus holding down the standards of the people as well as reducing the ability of the country to compete in international markets.

There are close to 2,000,000 industrial enterprises in France and an estimated 400,000 are marginal. The new reconversion fund would permit the first national attack on this deformity in the French economy.

Although the unions, especially the affiliates of Force Ouvrière, agree in substance with the government's proposal concerning reconversion, they object strenuously to the fact that the unions have no representation at the national policy-making level. A great part of this fund will be utilized in the reconversion of workers' skills. Up to now the Prime Minister and the Cabinet have decided against union participation.

It has been suggested that this decision was taken because Force Ouvrière objected to the inclusion of the Communist-run C.G.T. as one of the participants. Since the heads of this administration have reversed the government policy of the last three years not to recognize and deal with the C.G.T., they took the easy way out by deciding not to have any trade union participation at the national level.

With the gradual increase of the minimum wage, the French unions will begin to push for further improvements in the wages of semi-skilled and skilled workers. It is quite obvious that any change in the minimum wage calls for a whole series of readjustments of wages of workers at the higher levels. The minimum wage increase was made possible through concessions to employers in the form of lower coal prices and other direct or indirect subsidies.

Increases beyond the minimums, the government has informed the unions, are to be gained through negotiation in private collective bargaining. But since a great part of the French economy is in the hands of the government, it is hard to see where any improvement in the wage levels can come about without further concessions by the government itself to the demands of the unions.

The biggest private sector is the metal industry. There one finds a deep resistance to genuine collective bargaining on the part of the employers and an unwillingness to make any real concessions on the wage side.

The dissatisfaction of France's free trade unionists is not confined to the inadequacy of the wage increase. The authoritarian methods of the Prime Minister are (*Continued on Page 29*)



enc  
was  
of t  
tion  
sion  
in  
T  
wor  
have  
late  
tio  
labe  
take  
whi  
que  
Lab  
Nat  
the  
T  
pro  
mem  
Com  
with  
the  
wor  
for  
T  
on P  
in J  
close  
Rum  
nitel  
which  
cal c  
gary  
which  
poses  
Labo  
Czech  
empl  
poses  
in F  
prov  
force  
Th  
relat  
of so  
ousl  
right  
status  
the o  
Char

# Forced Labor on '56 Agenda of I.L.O.

By GEORGE P. DELANEY

A. F. of L. International Representative

THE question of forced labor will come before the 1956 session of the International Labor Conference for discussion and debate. This was decided at the recent meeting of the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization. The sessions of the Governing Body were held in Rome.

The decision means that in 1956 workers as well as governments will have the first opportunity to formulate regulations aimed at the elimination of the extensive use of forced labor. The Governing Body has thus taken another step in the conflict which ensued as a result of the request of the American Federation of Labor for a survey by the United Nations of the use of forced labor in the Iron Curtain countries.

The A. F. of L.'s initial petition provided the basis for the establishment of the Joint U.N.-I.L.O. Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor, charged with the responsibility of reviewing the use of forced labor throughout the world and making recommendations for its elimination.

The Joint U.N.-I.L.O. Committee on Forced Labor completed its report in June of 1953. The document disclosed that Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and the Soviet Union definitely have systems of forced labor which are used for purposes of political coercion or punishment and Hungary and Poland have legislation which could be used for such purposes. The Committee on Forced Labor found also that Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union employ forced labor for economic purposes and that legislation on the books in Hungary, Poland and Rumania provides a basis for such economic forced labor.

The committee also found "facts relating to systems of forced labor of so grave a nature that they seriously threaten fundamental human rights and jeopardize the freedom and status of workers in contravention of the obligations and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations." The



MR. DELANEY

committee went on to say that "these systems of forced labor, in any of their forms, should be abolished, to insure universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and funda-

mental freedoms." The working people of all nations owe a deep debt of gratitude to the members of the Joint U.N.-I.L.O. Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor for making public and available to the free world this detailed and comprehensive report on the use of forced labor in the Russian Empire.

As Matthew Woll, the A. F. of L.'s first vice-president, has stated:

"This world cannot and will not be truly free as long as millions of its inhabitants in the sprawling Russian Empire live in the dread fear and under the crushing burdens of Twentieth Century slavery. \* \* \* In the realization of the grave menace to democracy and the noblest ideals and moral values of mankind, the American Federation of Labor pledges itself to pursue with redoubled vigor its drive against slave labor no matter where it exists."

The recent session of the Governing Body of the (*Continued on Page 27*)

## I.L.O. Steel Group Meets

THE representatives of workers, employers and governments in twenty-one countries took part in sessions of the Iron and Steel Committee of the International Labor Organization. The meeting was held at Geneva, Switzerland. The I.L.O. has its permanent headquarters there.

Nearly unanimous approval was given to a statement that the foundation of good human relations in the iron and steel industry is recognition of trade unions freely chosen by the workers as representative of their interests.

The delegates discussed supplementary pensions and decided that the establishment of such pensions in the industry is desirable. However, supplementary pension schemes, it was agreed, should not hinder labor's mobility and should not place any obstacle in the way of the employment of older workers.

In regard to supplementary pen-

sions, the Iron and Steel Committee also said that consideration must be given to the general system prevailing in each country and to the financial situation of the industry and the particular enterprise in question.

The worker, employer and government representatives noted with regret the inadequacy of information supplied by some governments relative to the action taken to give effect to conclusions reached at previous sessions of the Iron and Steel Committee. A list was drafted of points on which governments will be asked to furnish information prior to the committee's next meeting.

Represented at Geneva, in addition to the United States, were Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France, West Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, Poland, South Africa and Sweden.

# *Labor Pictures of the Month*

A. F. of L. President George Meany and the little March of Dimes girl quickly became fast friends when she visited A. F. of L.'s headquarters. Mary Kosloski is five years of age



International Association of Machinists broke ground for new building. President Al Hayes and many labor leaders were present for ceremony



Thelma Dawson won election as treasurer of Central Labor Union in Washington



Labor representatives of the European Coal and Steel Community visited A. F. of L. Building and were greeted by President Meany, Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler and George P. Delaney, A. F. of L. international representative



Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor secretary, spoke about Israeli unionism at a session of the American Trade Union Council for Histadrut. Meeting was held in New York



George Meany paid tribute to Percy Bengough (left), who has retired from the presidency of the Trades and Labor Congress, Canada's trade union federation. The banquet was held in Ottawa



On the second anniversary of the passing of William Green, his grave at Coshocton, Ohio, was decorated. A brief but moving service was conducted. Wreath was placed by President Michael J. Lyden and Secretary Phil Hannah of Ohio State Federation of Labor

# THE RIGHT TO WRECK

## *The Significance of State Laws Prohibiting Union Security*

FROM A PAMPHLET JUST PUBLISHED BY  
THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

### Foreword

A SERIOUS THREAT to sound and democratic labor relations has risen in America. This threat takes the form of legislation, deceptively misnamed as "right-to-work" legislation, to prohibit union security arrangements worked out by labor and management through collective bargaining. Such legislation is now in effect in seventeen states.

Employer groups have organized well-financed lobbies to press for its adoption in many other states. Their major opportunity comes in 1955 when all but four State Legislatures will be meeting.

This threat involves far more than a narrow partisan issue between labor and management.

The living standards of all Americans are adversely affected by the passage of this legislation.

Farsighted employers and public-spirited citizens now realize that these so-called "right-to-work" laws should in reality more aptly be named "right-to-wreck" laws, for they serve as instruments to weaken the organization of workers, to lower wages, and to disrupt peaceful bargaining relations between labor and management.

This pamphlet has been prepared to make clear the reasons behind the American Federation of Labor's unalterable opposition to this legislation.

GEORGE MEANY  
*President, American Federation of Labor*

### Your Wages and Working Conditions Are in Danger

The wages and working conditions of all Americans are threatened by the passage of so-called state "right-to-work" laws. These laws are already on the statute books in seventeen states. Throughout the rest of the country, employers and business groups are exerting special pressures for the enactment of this legislation.

### What Are These Laws?

These laws are short, simple and to the point. They contain one basic ingredient . . . they outlaw all forms of union security arrangements worked out in collective bargaining by labor and management. In states with these laws any agreement between workers and their employer under which any worker is required to join a union is illegal.

### What Is the Argument for This Legislation?

This legislation is defended on the ground that it is needed to protect a basic "right-to-work" enjoyed by all Americans. In the Alabama law, this is called "the right of persons to work" and in the Texas statute "the inherent right of a person to work."

### What Is This 'Right to Work'?

Is it in the Constitution? NO.  
Is it in the Bill of Rights? NO.  
Just what sort of a right is this?

*If you are unemployed, can you utilize this "right to work" to claim a job with any local contractor or business?*

*Of course not. To obtain work,  
A job has to be vacant,*

**You have to be qualified,  
You have to be selected for the job.**

**If you are employed, does this "right to work" protect you from losing your job?  
Of course not.**

**You can still be discharged**

**For disobeying company rules and  
regulations,  
For inefficiency or for other reasons.**

**You can still be laid off**

**If the company's business declines.**

The "right to work" does not help you to obtain a job or prevent you from losing a job.

Let's face it: In America there is no "right to work"; instead, it might be said that individuals have the "right" to LOOK FOR "work"—but it is the employer who decides whether any worker is to be hired.

### **Has the 'Right to Work' Benefited Workers in Other Countries?**

Experience behind the Iron Curtain gives the answer to this question. In the Soviet Union the "right-to-work" is specifically recognized. Article 118 of the Soviet Constitution reads as follows:

**"Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the RIGHT TO WORK; that is, the right to receive guaranteed work with pay for labor corresponding to its quantity and quality.**

**"The RIGHT TO WORK is secured by the socialist organization of the national economy, by the irresistible growth of the productive forces of the Soviet society, and by the liquidation of unemployment."**

Despite this "right-to-work" the Soviet citizen

- 1. Cannot choose the occupation for earning his livelihood.**
- 2. Works under strict discipline, including an elaborate system of penalties for absenteeism and tardiness.**
- 3. Cannot quit his job.**
- 4. Is subject to transfer without notice to any place in the Soviet Union, including the living death in Siberian slave labor camps.**

For the Soviet citizen the "right to work" has become the *duty to work and work harder*.

For the American worker the "right to work" is a phrase without meaning. It is used only to hide the real motives of the sponsors of this legislation.

### **What Is Behind These 'Right to Work' Laws?**

Despite this high-sounding title, these "right to work" laws are designed for only one purpose—to weaken

labor unions and to lower standards of wages and working conditions.

This is accomplished very simply. By prohibiting all basic UNION SECURITY arrangements, the law strikes directly at the bargaining strength which workers have been able to attain through union organization.

### **What Does Union Security Mean?**

These UNION SECURITY arrangements are not new. They have been an established institution in American labor relations for many years.

They developed from necessity as the bitter opposition of employers to union organization forced unions to seek agreements under which the union's status would be secure from anti-union attacks sponsored—openly or secretly—by the employers.

It is important to remember that today under the nation's labor relations laws, union security arrangements can be included in a collective bargaining agreement only if

- 1. The union is the recognized bargaining agent for the workers, having been endorsed by a clear majority of the employees.**
- 2. The union members have asked management for a union security clause in their collective bargaining contract.**
- 3. The employer agrees to include the clause in the contract.**

### **What Union Security Arrangements Are Prohibited by These Laws?**

There are many different kinds of union-security clauses. In some cases, such as a union shop, all employees are required to join the union. In other cases, such as a modified union shop or maintenance of membership, only certain employees must be members of the union.

Under these "right to work" laws, the union shop (under which all employees have to become union members within a certain period of time after they are hired) is prohibited despite the fact that this provision is expressly permitted by the Taft-Hartley Law. At the present time over 80 per cent of A. F. of L. workers are employed under union shop conditions.

The maintenance of membership arrangements (under which existing union members have to retain membership but non-members do not have to join) is prohibited even though it does not require a single non-union worker to join the union.

Over 12,000,000 workers are today employed under these union security agreements which would be illegal if this "right to work" legislation were universally adopted throughout the country.

These union security arrangements are prohibited  
***Even though the workers want it***

***Even though the employer is willing to grant it  
Even though the workers are already union  
members.***

### **Union Security Provisions Are Democratic**

Those who oppose any form of union security often do so in the name of democracy. It is undemocratic, they say, to require anyone to join a union. This sounds good, but it simply does not make sense.

Is there any real difference between an employer and union deciding that an employee must join the union and deciding what his rate of pay must be, or that he may work only a certain number of hours? If the employee is not a member of the union, he has no voice at all in determining his rate of pay, his hours or other conditions of employment. Why, then, is it undemocratic to require him to accept one condition of employment—union membership—when it is not undemocratic to require him to accept these other conditions of employment?

When Congress passes laws, everybody obeys them or suffers penalties. Some laws—heavy taxes, for example—none of us like. Nevertheless, we obey all of the laws because they are passed by representatives of the majority of the voters. If we do not like the laws that are passed, we have the opportunity to do something about it when election time comes around.

Democracy in the shop is no different from democracy in government. A bargaining agent—the union—is chosen by the workers. In a vast majority of cases, the workers have chosen the union they want to represent them by secret ballot in a collective bargaining election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board. Thus the union has to be the democratically chosen representative of the workers before it can ask the employer for any type of union security.

Union policies reflect the views of the majority of the workers. Each union member has the opportunity of helping to set these policies. If the individual member objects to any policy, he can work to have the policy changed and at election time he can vote to change the union officials who have recommended the policy.

The only democratic way is to allow a union, if a majority of its members desire it, to seek a union security clause in its contract.

### **Union Security Is Necessary for Unions To Carry Out Bargaining Obligations**

The union is required by law to represent all workers in the bargaining unit, not simply union members. The wage increases, the shorter hours, the health and welfare plans, the observance of seniority—all the benefits won by the union extend to every worker in the plant or shop.

All workers receive the benefits of unionism, but only the union members through their dues carry the cost of supporting the union. The remaining workers

receive the benefits of unionism without contributing to the cost of obtaining them. In order that all workers receive equal consideration, unions must be allowed to negotiate an arrangement under which all the workers would help support their collective bargaining representative.

### **Do Workers Want Union Security?**

For over four years the Taft-Hartley Law included a provision which required that, before any union shop could be negotiated, all the workers in the particular collective bargaining unit had to authorize this type of arrangement by secret ballot. During this period 46,146 elections were held at which 5,548,982 workers cast votes. Over 91 per cent of the votes favored the union shop and the negotiation of a union shop clause was authorized in over 97 per cent of the cases.

Congress finally saw the absurdity of spending millions of dollars for elections in which the results were so overwhelmingly one-sided. In 1951 this provision of the Taft-Hartley Law was repealed.

### **Union Security Fosters Industrial Peace**

Far from becoming a bone of contention, union security clauses actually foster the development of peaceful collective bargaining relations. Industrial relations experts have long recognized the basic fact that, once a union's status has been firmly established, it is in a position where it can make a more constructive contribution to union-management relations.

Professor Sumner Slichter of Harvard University, a well-known and respected business economist, has summed up this point in the following words:

*"... An assured status for the union is not a guarantee of successful union-employer relations, but it is a prerequisite . . ."*

Professor Slichter backs up his conclusions with these findings:

*"The employer is likely to have more freedom in shops where the status of the union is established than in one where its position is more or less precarious. Where the union is not secure, it is compelled to attempt to resist the employer's discretion at every point where he may discriminate against union members in favor of non-members."*

Many employers have welcomed the development of union security arrangements because a more stable union organization has assured more highly qualified workmen, a more productive work-force and, in particular, a more constructive union attitude toward improving efficiency and lowering costs.

### **Let Employers and Unions Decide Union Security Questions for Themselves**

In the old days questions about wages, hours and

working conditions were decided only by employers. The individual worker, without union organization, was helpless against low wages, long hours or sweatshop conditions.

Slowly the country came to realize that individual workers must have the opportunity, through self-organization, to attain bargaining power equal to that of management.

With equality of bargaining power, questions of wages, hours and conditions of employment can be settled most effectively by employers and workers themselves. They are the ones who are most familiar with these problems. They are the ones who, by bargaining across the table, can reach an agreement which is most satisfactory to all concerned. Because no agreement can be reached unless both sides voluntarily subscribe to it, the rights of workers and employers are safely protected.

The nation's official policy, originating in the Wagner Act and continued even under the Taft-Hartley Law, is one of "encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining."

Collective bargaining has been proved a success. Approximately 95 per cent of all bargaining agreements negotiated each year are concluded without any stoppage of work. In 1953 the total time lost from strikes amounted to only one-fourth of one per cent of the total time worked.

With this record, government should not interfere in bargaining. Both labor and management agree on this.

Questions of union security can be left in the capable hands of workers and employers. There is no need for either the state or federal government to interfere in this process through any so-called "right to work" legislation.

## 'Right to Work' Laws Endanger The Progress of American Workers

During the past twenty years the average worker has seen the following changes:

***Wages in manufacturing, for example, have increased from \$17 to more than \$70 a week. The 40-hour week has been adopted almost universally.***

***Average income per person has risen from \$360 to \$1553 a year.***

These gains have not been a gift from American employers. They have been achieved by the workers themselves, chiefly through union organization which has given workers equality of bargaining power with employers.

These gains are now threatened by state "right to work" laws. If these laws are passed, organized employers will become stronger. As a result

***UNIONISM will be weakened***

***COLLECTIVE BARGAINING will become one-sided bargaining***

***Wages can be more easily reduced***

***CONSUMER PURCHASING POWER will drop  
FULL EMPLOYMENT will be harder to maintain***

Workers, employers and the general public all have a stake in this fight to maintain effective unions and equal bargaining power.

***DEFEAT ANY 'RIGHT TO WORK' LAW IN YOUR STATE!***

## Decent Homes Will Mean Less Delinquency

**A**MERICA can reverse the dismaying upward trend in juvenile delinquency by establishing decent living conditions for all American families. George Riley, A. F. of L. legislative representative, pointed up this fact in advising a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee that prevention as well as correction is needed to deal with the evil.

He listed these prime requirements for checking juvenile delinquency:

- (1) A reasonable income to permit healthy family life.
- (2) Good housing for all.
- (3) Adequate community provision for recreation.
- (4) Improved educational facilities.
- (5) An extensive health program.
- (6) Social and welfare service.

Other recommendations included special training of police who deal with youngsters, improved detention facilities to take full account of the impact they have on uprooted children, first-rate juvenile court and probation services and readily accessible social service facilities.

Mr. Riley said the traffic in narcotics and the inducing of drug addiction among youngsters "must be stamped out with all measures at the community's disposal." He also expressed concern over lurid crime comic books and sensationalized radio and TV programs for children.

But corrective measures can only alleviate the impact of juvenile delinquency, Mr. Riley said. They cannot solve "the shameful problem of delinquency" which is "rooted in far more

basic consideration," he pointed out.

Meanwhile, the National Child Labor Committee in the annual report of Gertrude Folks Zimand, general secretary, took issue with the claim that child labor laws foster idleness and juvenile delinquency. The report said:

"The Committee increasingly meets the argument, both in states seeking to raise child labor standards and where breakdown bills are introduced, that child labor laws are breeding idleness and contributing to juvenile delinquency. Often coupled with this is the suggestion that 14- and 15-year-olds who are 'incorrigible' or 'unhappy' in school should be permitted to leave school and go to work.

"We therefore welcomed a request from the (*Continued on Page 28*)

# *Editorials*

By GEORGE MEANY

## The Year Ahead

LABOR has its work cut out for it in 1955. We shall follow the pattern of progress charted by the convention of the American Federation of Labor in Los Angeles last September.

While each year brings new problems, America and the free world are still faced with a tremendous carryover of continuing problems still awaiting solution. Chief among these is how to maintain world peace, without which progress for the human race is impossible.

We of labor are convinced that the cold war cannot be ended by any further appeasement of the international Communist conspiracy, nor by allowing ourselves to be deluded into a false sense of security by Moscow's talk of co-existence. The free world must stand firm in defense of freedom and democracy. It cannot accept at face value offers of co-existence from those who still practice aggression, subversion, slave labor and the abolition of human freedom. When the Kremlin holds out the olive branch in one hand while waving a bloody sword with the other, we must beware.

Let us recognize the hard fact that there is no easy road to peace. The free world must cement its united front. It must strengthen the defenses erected against Communist aggression at whatever cost. The American Federation of Labor, therefore, will support an expanded defense and foreign-aid program in the coming year.

On the home front the overriding problem is how to bolster the national economy. Present indications of industrial revival may be set back by the seasonal business slump that usually comes in January. We must guard against another disheartening rise in unemployment. Steps should be taken at once to provide new job opportunities and higher purchasing power. This can be done by prompt, vigorous and intelligent government

action. The American Federation of Labor will call upon Congress to take such action.

Our legislative program includes a higher minimum wage, construction of necessary public works, low-cost housing, reduced income taxes for families in the low-income brackets and improved unemployment compensation standards.

These and other steps that can safely be taken by the government would provide the increased purchasing power required to stimulate expanded production and business activity.

The American Federation of Labor has every confidence in the dynamic economic future of our country. It is the sluggish present status of the economy that troubles us. We do not consider it fair or wise to let millions of unemployed suffer through a long period of stagnation until business picks up. In our opinion, it would be foolhardy for the government to wait until the situation gets worse before it takes emergency measures. The time to act is now—when a little stimulus will go a long way.

The year ahead offers great opportunities to labor to achieve further progress through its own initiative. In the past the success of trade unions in obtaining higher wage standards has helped to provide an abundant domestic market for the products of American farms and factories. This is still the most promising field for direct action. As our Los Angeles convention recommended, our unions can help provide some of the increased purchasing power the nation needs by proceeding to gain further wage advances through collective bargaining.

On the issue of labor unity, 1955 may well be the year of decision. The American Federation of Labor stands committed in favor of amalgamation with the C.I.O. into a single trade union center in the United States. We intend to do everything we can to achieve this goal in the coming year.

## Now We Know

PRESIDENT Eisenhower's immediate repudiation of the speech by his own Secretary of Labor in opposition to the misnamed "right-to-work" laws enacted by seventeen states certainly clears the air.

Now, there can be no further doubt that the Eisenhower Administration has taken a stand on this question which places it definitely on the side of the big business interests determined to fight union security.

In his speech Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell said that the "right-to-work" laws do not create any jobs at all, that they result in undesirable limitations upon the freedom of workers and employers to bargain collectively and to agree on conditions of work, and that they undermine the basic strength of labor organizations by restricting union security. Secretary Mitchell said further that the organized drive by certain business groups

to extend these restrictive laws to other states was "disquieting" to him.

This was a restrained and factual statement of the truth. Yet the very next day President Eisenhower said it did not express the views of his Administration.

Of course, the President must have been aware of the fact that the "right-to-work" laws become operative in interstate commerce only because of a trick provision in the Taft-Hartley Act contained in Section 14B. This section gives preference to state laws over the federal law when the former prohibit union security contracts.

If the President had upheld Secretary Mitchell, consistency would have required him to ask Congress to repeal Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act, something which he has consistently refused to do since he broke with former Secretary of Labor Martin Durkin.

Perhaps Secretary Mitchell now understands how his predecessor felt when he resigned.

## The Story of Workmen's Compensation

By NELSON H. CRUIKSHANK

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION. By Herman Miles Somers and Anne Ramsey Somers. 341 pages. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

IF eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, it is no less true that everlasting, unrelenting watchfulness is the price of progress in the field of social legislation. This is amply demonstrated in the exhaustive treatment of the development of workmen's compensation legislation in the United States from its earliest beginnings to its present rather sorry state set forth in this book.

One would think that, having won the tough battles over such basic issues as "contributory negligence," the "fellow-servant" doctrine and "assumption of risk" and established the basic principle of "liability without fault," and with a network of insurance schemes, both public and private, set up to cover most of the risks of employment in modern industry, workers could proceed to deal with other pressing issues.

In fact, it appears that is just about what has happened. While their forces

have been engaged on other fronts, the protection for wage-earners and their families originally contemplated in "the first of our social insurances" has sadly deteriorated.

No state labor official seeking improvement in his state workmen's compensation law can afford to be without this book, nor will he wish to be, for the book represents the rare combination of sound scholarship and readability. In addition to its detailed comparisons of the many and varied provisions of the fifty-four jurisdictions (many of them in convenient table form), "workmen's compensation" presents the current issues against a background of historical development and in relation to the current scene in social and labor legislation in a way that makes the book an indispensable manual for legislative representatives, teachers of social security legislation and others interested in labor legislation, compensation law, casualty insurance, industrial medicine, rehabilitation, public welfare and related fields.

Those who have known the authors

are not surprised to discover in their joint effort a combination of thorough scholarship and practical, down-to-earth understanding. Dr. Somers has served in a variety of governmental (both state and federal) administrative posts. In addition to his teaching—he is now chairman of the Department of Political Science at Haverford College—he has served as consultant to such varied agencies as the Brookings Institution, the U.S. Department of Labor, the Department of the Army, the Social Security Administration, the Mutual Security Agency and the Massachusetts Special Legislative Commission on Taxation and Public Expenditures.

Many labor people will remember Anne Ramsey Somers from her four years as a labor economist with the U.S. Department of Labor. She has been a leader in the field of workers' education and has published several important studies in industrial relations. She got her start in the labor movement with the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union after her graduation from Vassar.

# *A Report on Central America Today*

By SERAFINO ROMUALDI

*A. F. of L. Representative for Latin America*

DURING October and November I went back to Central America, visiting Yucatan, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Honduras. That part of our Hemisphere is now undergoing profound political, social and trade union changes that require close study and attention on the part of the American Federation of Labor and O.R.I.T., under whose auspices I made the trip.

Yucatan, where I stopped first, has been for years the scene of an heroic movement inspired by the revolutionary agrarian reforms of the martyred leader Governor Felipe Carrillo Puerto, who together with his three brothers was assassinated in Merida by reactionary forces on January 3, 1924. The movement suffered other great losses in the persons of other leaders who likewise paid with their lives for their devotion to the cause of Indian emancipation. But it finally triumphed and today is one of the strongest bulwarks of the Mexican Revolution and the Confederation of Workers of Mexico (C.T.M.). Everywhere in the countryside of Yucatan one finds signs, in Spanish and in Maya, proclaiming:

"The Land Belongs to Those Who Work It."

The Confederacion de Ligas Gremiales de Obreros y Campesinos (Confederation of Unions of Workers and Peasants) is the only major labor organization now functioning in Yucatan. It is the state branch of C.T.M. and is closely allied in the political field with the Socialist Party of the Southeast of Mexico. It is composed of 622 local unions and twenty federations, with a total membership of 64,000. Communist influence in the whole region is practically nil.

The Confederation controls three



MR. ROMUALDI

seats in a nine-member State Legislature whose majority is composed of allied members belonging to the official party, P.R.I. The Confederation has two Federal Congressmen. One is Professor Antonio Bustillo Carrillo, president of the Confederation and secretary for political action of C.T.M.; the other, Fernando Vargas Ocampo, is Confederation treasurer and president of the Union of Truck Drivers.

Yucatan's major labor organization is also represented by two members in the six-man City Council of Merida and, in alliance with the Socialist Party, controls all but twenty-eight of the 105 state municipalities. The mayor of Merida and the governor of Yucatan are working in close alliance with the labor movement.

Unionism in Yucatan has become a way of life. Take, for example, the powerful Union of Truck Drivers. It has an up-to-date medical service. It operates a complete elementary and

secondary school system for the union members' children, including a beautiful playground. It boasts a modern recreation center for its adult members, in the suburbs of Merida, including sport fields and restaurant. It operates a flourishing consumers' cooperative, gasoline station, repair shop and auto supply store. It has, in addition, a system of sickness and death benefits which includes even a plot in the cemetery.

A real case of trade unionism from the cradle to the grave!

IN contrast with the political uncertainty of last summer, this time I found Guatemala further stabilized under the strengthened leadership of President Carlos Castillo Armas. The elections, so to speak, were over; the Constituent Assembly had begun its sessions; the country had settled down to a long period of reorganization and reconstruction.

The government labor policy had finally emerged with somewhat clearer directions. The struggle which had been waged during the summer between the forces that wanted to do away with every vestige of bona fide trade unionism and those who realized that the reconstruction of free trade unionism was a prerequisite to the reconstruction of Guatemalan democracy has ended apparently with the latter group becoming stronger.

I found the new Minister of Labor, Dr. Jorge Arenales, and his Undersecretary, Dr. Manuel Villacorta, well determined to encourage and protect the reorganization of the labor movement. I also found their views as to the role of trade unionism in the new Guatemala sound and constructive. Both men freely admitted their preference for the collective bargaining sys-

tem prevailing in the United States. There remains, however, the fact that until then innumerable legal difficulties had made the reorganization and legal recognition of labor unions almost impossible. Both officials, and later the President himself, pledged the introduction of corrective measures which, I am pleased to say, were begun to be put into effect soon after my departure from Guatemala.

The Independent Trade Union Federation (F.A.S.) is the group that so far has made the most progress. Its renovated headquarters are a beehive of activity. Under its auspices I lectured to a large audience which, in addition to scores of trade union representatives, included diplomats, labor judges, legislators and many students of the labor movement. The two top leaders of F.A.S.—Jorge Garcia Bauer and Luis Balcarcel—have been elected to the Constituent Assembly. There they have the support of a sizable group of members, including Railway Union leader Padilla. This bloc is committed to the preservation of the basic gains of the Labor Code and the social security legislation.

The National Committee for Trade Union Reorganization (C.N.R.S.)—the other Guatemalan labor group set up last summer—was afflicted by an internal schism caused by honest policy disagreements between the president and the majority of the Executive Committee. It looked to me as if still another trade union group was going to emerge out of the conflict. However, this regrettable situation did not seem to retard in any way the process of reorganization in those fields where the C.N.R.S. was active.

A very encouraging development has taken place in the Railway sector, where the many rival groups that had been unable for so long to get together have finally formed an all-inclusive Reorganization Committee which the government was about to recognize as legitimate heir of the dissolved union S.A.M.F., turning over to it the frozen patrimony of the old union and the administration of the labor agreement with the International Railroad of Central America.

Within the limitations of diplomatic propriety, the American Embassy in Guatemala has constantly emphasized, since the very first days of the Castillo Armas regime, the importance of reconstructing a bona fide, independent trade union movement. This has been done in contacts with

the government, with U.S. employers and with labor leaders. This fact has been attested to me by the many who approve of it, and even by the few who resent it.

As far as the workers are concerned, this friendly interest on the part of the American Embassy has created a widespread, genuine feeling of appreciation and friendship for our country. I hope this intelligent and constructive attitude will continue in the future even if it should remain hidden behind a curtain of unjustified but understandable official silence.

**W**HEN I went to Nicaragua the first time, last year, the Communist-Peronista group almost succeeded in breaking up the meeting I addressed at the Workers' House. This year, however, the best they could do was to distribute handbills full of the usual slanders and falsehoods and to plant a couple of fake stories in the local press, one of which went so far as to describe me as a Communist. The reaction from the leaders of the bona fide labor movement and the prompt and generous intervention of the Minister of Labor, Dr. Ramiro Sacasa Guerrero, who sent to the newspapers a statement exposing the lies about myself and the American Federation of Labor, thoroughly defeated the Communist-Peronista scheme.

After lecturing at the Workers' House under the auspices of a Joint Trade Union Committee representing the Nationalist Confederation of Democratic Workers, the Organization Committee of Free Trade Unions and the Federation of United Transport Workers, I spent time in meeting with different groups and individual leaders, mainly with the view of patching up some misunderstandings with O.R.I.T. which arose last May, at a time when relations between the governments of Nicaragua and Costa Rica were close to the breaking point. I am confident that normal friendly relations can be reestablished in the near future, thus paving the way for affiliation with O.R.I.T. of one large sector of the Nicaraguan labor movement.

The above-mentioned groups plus the General Confederation of Labor have formed an alliance which may result in the organization of a unified labor movement. This alliance, which goes under the name of Trade Union Coordination Committee, proved very

effective in arousing public opinion and securing the support of the government against the crime committed in Yali, last September, by a Conservative member of Parliament, Porfirio Molina Rodriguez, when in an attempt to disrupt a labor meeting he killed two labor leaders and gravely wounded two union members.

A large number of Nicaraguan trade unionists have visited the United States during the past two years under the Technical Cooperation Program of the Foreign Operations Administration. Some of them have also attended the Trade Union School at the University of Puerto Rico. In addition, the Department of Information of the U.S. Embassy in Managua has made a nationwide showing of many excellent labor films produced in the United States and has distributed a considerable amount of printed material on the life of the laboring people in our country and on the activities of our trade union movement. As a result of these activities, there is today in Nicaragua among the workers a better understanding and appreciation of our country's efforts to raise the standard of living of the people throughout the world and to safeguard the peace against the threats of Communist aggression. An indication of these feelings was given a few months ago when a committee of trade union leaders, representing all the major labor organizations of the country, called spontaneously at the U.S. Embassy to greet Ambassador Thomas E. Whelan who had returned to his post after a long leave of absence.

Nicaragua has a regime that is completely dominated by the personality of President Anastasio Somoza. Such a regime has enemies as well as supporters, with the freedom-loving elements throughout the Americas being generally opposed to it. Nicaraguan organized labor, on the other hand, largely supports the regime because of the many benefits in welfare and legislation it gained under Somoza's paternalistic attitude. Labor also appreciates the fact that freedom

**LISTEN TO  
MORGAN**  
ABC • ABC • ABC • ABC  
BEGINNING JANUARY 3

of trade union organization is being respected. Of course, it is far from being flawless if judged from our own standards; yet it compares favorably with conditions prevailing in some other Latin American countries, including a few classed as democratic and progressive.

**H**ONDURAS until last spring was the only remaining country in the Western Hemisphere without unions. In the brief space of a few months, the panorama has changed radically. Strong unions are now operating in the North Coast banana plantations of the United Fruit and Standard Fruit companies as well as in the capital city of Tegucigalpa. The Communists and their fellow travelers are attempting to bore from within and to attack from without, but so far have failed, although they still pose a severe threat.

The United Fruit Company, following settlement of the nine-week-long strike last summer, has adopted a policy of dealing on a permanent basis with bona fide organized labor. A labor relations expert, Mr. Alfred Giardino, formerly in the New York State government, has been hired, according to a statement of the company's president, "primarily to set up a modern system of labor relations and to teach the company's personnel how to deal and live with the union." On the other hand, the O.R.I.T. has sent one of its seasoned organizers, Augusto Malave Villalba, to help organize and advise the labor movement in Honduras. Malave spends most of his time with the United Fruit Company's union, in the North Coast, where he has done a remarkable job.

While it will take time until the employers, and particularly their subordinate supervisors, learn how to deal with the union and forget the old system of arbitrary decision "which was to be accepted in silence, or else," it will take time also for the union representatives to learn how to operate effectively, without losing patience and becoming unduly discouraged.

Leadership cannot be improvised overnight, yet I dare say that there is in Honduras a very promising element, which with a little more training will give a good account of itself. In this connection, the United States Embassy has lent its full cooperation by arranging with F.O.A. the setting up of a special labor training course

at the University of Puerto Rico for a group of twelve young trade unionists from Honduras, beginning this month (January). After three months in Puerto Rico and two in the United States, the group upon returning to their country will surely bring with them a better understanding of the role of organized labor and sufficient training and experience to act as effective and efficient leaders in their own respective unions.

At the same time, O.R.I.T. is going ahead with plans for setting up a local Trade Union Training Institute in co-operation with the University of Honduras.

**L**ITTLE El Salvador was the last country on my travel schedule. I was expected to address the First National Labor Congress, organized by the Department of Labor to provide a forum for the trade unions to air their grievances, advance proposals and exchange views on the advisability of amending the Labor Code; but the last-minute postponement of the Congress for a few days prevented me from attending.

El Salvador is governed by a progressive administration which enjoys the support of practically every labor group. It is, of course, opposed by the Communists—or what is left of the once powerful Kremlin-dominated movement—who, above all, cannot forgive the Osorio administration for having adopted and carried out a successful policy of social reform, public works, housing expansion, agricultural diversification and building of electric power plants.

It was a refreshing experience for me to hear from President Oscar Osorio and his able Minister of Labor, Dr. Mario Hector Salazar, in simple, straightforward terms their sensible conception of anti-Communist and progressive democracy. It was actually worked in El Salvador and could well be taken as a good example to be followed elsewhere.

Years ago El Salvador was the testing ground of Communist revolutionary propaganda and experiments. It cost dearly in number of lives lost and property destroyed. Furthermore, it left a legacy of bitterness which was aggravated by the blindness of the ruling class, bent only upon exacting revenge without having the vision to adopt much-needed social reforms. All this changed with the 1948 revolution which brought to power the present

alliance of young military officers and civilian professionals. The winning of labor's confidence was a difficult task, indeed; and it took years of patient work before any real progress could be made.

The government felt that the lack of experience on the part of non-Communist labor elements needed to be bolstered by a series of government regulations and controls of trade union life. At that time there was perhaps no other course left. But years have passed; the labor movement has unquestionably been consolidated on a firm, democratic basis; dozens of young leaders have been sent, with the cooperation of the U.S. government, to Puerto Rico and to the United States where they have absorbed a great deal of knowledge and experience, bringing back a better understanding of the role of a modern constructive labor movement. There is, therefore, a strong desire on the part of Salvadorean labor to have some of the restrictions eliminated, particularly those that prevent the organization of a National Confederation of Labor, the affiliation with international trade union groups and the right of a trade union officer to succeed himself without a lapse of intervening time.

These grievances were aired at the national labor convention, where substantial progress was achieved toward reaching a middle ground where the views of the government and the unions would meet and produce a satisfactory solution.



WOMEN who work for a living receive higher pay and have greater job security if they belong to the Office Employees International Union. That union is now conducting a nationwide organizing drive. In your contacts with unorganized office employees—men or women—you can be a good friend by urging them to join the O.E.I.U. local.

# Labor's Troubles in Iowa

By RAY MILLS and EARL J. BAUM

*President and Secretary, Respectively,  
Iowa State Federation of Labor*

EIGHT years ago, when the Iowa State Federation of Labor met in annual convention at Davenport, Governor Robert Blue made a speech. In it he said many complimentary things about labor in our state. He highly praised the production record of Iowa labor during the war—but he didn't stop there.

"We are proud of your record," declared the Governor. "We talk about your record. And we want to do everything we can to give you the rights and benefits you deserve."

In that same address to our convention, Governor Blue also said that the typical Iowa employer "respects" organized labor and "doesn't resent your union card."

"He knows," the Governor said, "that in Iowa your union card is a perpetual reminder of your obligation to work shoulder to shoulder with your fellows to build a union which embodies the highest ideals of this state—of fraternal cooperation—and which wins the respect of employers and public alike.

"We need that type of union in Iowa if we are to help to build a better state, a better nation and a better world. I congratulate you on the spirit which animates your union. I congratulate you on what you have done in Iowa and what you will continue to do—and I give you my word, as a representative of the government of Iowa, that this state wants to give you the rights and the benefits you deserve and wants to maintain and protect those rights."

These compliments and friendly assurances were appreciated by the delegates in attendance at the convention and by all the trade unionists of Iowa. Governor Blue's statements made Iowa's working people feel that they were regarded as the equals of all other citizens and not as citizens of the second class.

It was a profound shock, therefore, when the very next year—in April of 1947—the Iowa General Assembly enacted a so-called "right to work" law, much more accurately described as a compulsory open shop law. Not

merely was the measure enacted into law but it was specifically inserted into and made an integral part of the Iowa code.

This is how the Iowa "right to work" law reads:

*Right to join union.* It is declared to be the policy of the state of Iowa that no person within its boundaries shall be deprived of the right to work at his chosen occupation for any employer because of membership in, affiliation with, withdrawal or expulsion from, or refusal to join, any labor union, organization or association, and any contract which contravenes this policy is illegal and void.

*Refusal to employ prohibited.* It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, association, corporation or labor organization to enter into any understanding, contract or agreement, whether written or oral, to exclude from employment members of a labor union, organization or association, or persons who do not belong to, or who refuse to join, a labor union, organization or association, or because of resignation or withdrawal therefrom.

*Union dues as prerequisite to employment prohibited.* It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, association, labor organization or corporation, or political subdivision, either directly or indirectly, or in any manner or by any means as a prerequisite to or a condition of employment, to require any person to pay dues, charges, fees, contributions, fines or assessments to any labor union, labor association or labor organization.

*Deducting dues from pay unlawful.* It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, association, labor organization or corporation to deduct labor organization dues, charges, fees, contributions, fines or assessments from an employee's earnings, wages or compensation unless the employer has first been presented with an individual written order therefor signed by the employee, and by his or her spouse if married, in the manner set forth in Section 539.4, which written order shall be terminable at any time by the employee giving at least thirty days' written notice of such termination to the employer.

*Penalty.* Any person, firm, association, labor organization or corporation or any director, officer, representative, agent or member thereof who shall violate any of the provisions of this chapter or who shall aid and abet in such violation shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

*Injunction.* Additional to the penal provisions of this chapter, any person, firm, corporation, association or any labor union, labor association or labor organization or any officer, representative, agent or member thereof may be restrained by

injunction from doing or continuing to do any of the matters and things prohibited by this chapter, and all of the provisions of the law relating to the granting of restraining orders and injunctions, either temporary or permanent, shall be applicable.

*Exception.* The provisions of this chapter shall not apply to employers or employees covered by the Federal Railroad Labor Act.

We do not believe it takes a great deal of imagination to appreciate how this kind of law has hobbled organized labor in Iowa. The measure was passed by the General Assembly over the protests of thousands of laboring people who gathered on the Capitol grounds in Des Moines in an attempt to get their vision of such drastic legislation over to the lawmakers. The General Assembly was not impressed. It went right ahead and gave its approval to this vicious bill—and then the very same Governor Blue who, only a short time before, had praised labor so highly took his pen in hand and affixed his signature to make the bill law.

THE Iowa State Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations object strenuously to the misnamed "right to work" law which is so harmful to trade union progress. The compulsory open shop act is contrary to basic concepts of the free enterprise system. It moves the government into the bargaining session and eliminates union security as a subject of collective bargaining. It does not allow for freedom of contract. But it does provide for greater governmental interference in industrial relations.

Organized labor in Iowa has also emphasized, ever since the enactment of this obnoxious law in 1947, that making the open shop compulsory by statute is flagrantly undemocratic. This is true because every form of union security is rendered illegal—even where a majority of all the employees in a given plant, on a given job or of a given employer want and vote for union security and where the employer, in collective bargaining, has agreed to union security.

Another (*Continued on Page 30*)

# But Moscow Says It's 'DEMOCRACY'

By HENRY RUTZ

THE voters of Russian-occupied East Germany had the privilege, on Sunday, October 17, to experience what is meant by "free and democratic elections" in international communism's upside-down language. On that day East Germany "voted" for the members to the so-called German Democratic Republic's Parliament.

The symbolic importance of this "election" was emphasized by Russia's Foreign Minister, Molotov, only two weeks earlier while meeting with his German commissars in East Berlin. He had high praise for the preparations made. East Germany's Communist Deputy Premier Ulbricht openly assured his Russian overlord that this coming "election" was but an experiment which they later hoped to apply to the whole of Germany.

Of course, the "election" was a "tremendous success." On the following day, East Germany's newspapers, radios and factory loudspeakers informed all and sundry who were interested and those who were forced to listen that the "unity list" of candidates had received 99.46 per cent of the vote.

Since then reports of the chicanery used, the threats applied and the retaliation which went into effect in connection with the bulldozing of the electorate have trickled through the Iron Curtain censorship.

From the city of Rostock in the north to Dresden in the south of the Russian zone, the country became the scene of a grotesque political comedy. Brass bands, comic bands, women gymnasts in red tricots, clowns, dance groups, children's choruses and all

*The Communists make sure nobody fails to vote. The people are rounded up and marched to the polling places*



MR. RUTZ

other elements of public entertainment were put into play.

Frau Doherr, West Berlin's expert on East German affairs, describes the happenings in Erfurt as an example. Here the Busch circus paraded through the streets on its way to the polling place with all the members of its cast, the elephants and the horses, and with master trainer Ullmann and

wife at the head in best equestrian form.

They were followed by Clown Mixo and his dogs, a large band and lion-tamer Miss Tarzana.

"We Are All Voting for Peace," a large accompanying sign informed the public.

In East Berlin's Stalinallee (start of the famous uprising of June 17, 1953) the first to appear at the polls in the early morning hours—and how could it have been otherwise?—was the Soviet Zone's President Wilhelm Pieck. Communist "young pioneers" yelled "friendship" and sang a militant song. A six-year-old girl spoke her lines in which she deplored the fact that she was not old enough to vote but promised that she and her companions "would continue to work for peace."

"That was well-spoken," acknowledged Pieck, and took the blue scarf the child was wearing and tied it around his neck.

In Leipzig and Jena the university



students marched in a body, blue-shirted, to the polls. In the harbor city of Rostock all ships, including fishing vessels, were bedecked with flags. In some cities parents were assembled by their children on a city-block basis and led to the voting places. They were encouraged to place their ballots unfolded into the boxes as an indication that they were proud to "show the world that they were voting for peace."

After one of these child-led parades in East Berlin the voters, with the accompaniment of an accordion player, prepared themselves for several hours of "reconstruction"—in other words, rubble clearance.

Most effective was the block warden system. The block warden is selected by the Communist political machine to see to it that every person of voting age in his city block goes to the polls on Election Day. At a given time he will check on all those who have not as yet voted, line them up and march with them to the polls.

Stalinstadt is considered the acme of Russian Zone cities. Here all the systems—with trimmings—were put into operation to get a 100 per cent vote in favor of "the list." A huge "peace bonfire" in honor of the "people's election" wound up the show. Proudly the leader of the Young Communist League announced that "in this city not a single person used the voting booth."

*Voting booth!* That term brings us to the crux of our story.

Elsewhere on this page is a ballot used in the election. It contains twenty-nine names followed by the initials of the candidate's sponsoring organization. FDGB, for example, means that the candidate represents the Communist Trade Union Federation; FDJ, the Communist Youth Organization; DFD, the Communist Women's League; SED, the Communist Party; etc., etc.

There is no provision for voting a "yes" or "no" for this slate. Neither are there blank lines for the listing of other candidates than those appearing on the ballot.

The "voter" in East Germany enters the polling place, is checked off by the tellers and is given the single ballot which he is expected to deposit in the box at the end of the tellers' table. At the far end of the room there is a voting booth in which a voter who objects to the slate can retire and in privacy scratch one or more names or

even the entire ballot before folding it and depositing the same in the ballot box.

But woe unto him who dares make the trip to the voting booth! For he will be marked down by the tellers for future enlightenment. This future enlightenment could take place in the uranium mines of Silesia or the wilds of Siberia.

For Americans to understand a 99.46 vote for a single slate, another phase of communism's "election" strategy must be considered, namely, the high-powered pre-election activity of the local party functionary.

The report of the Communist secretary of the county of Schwerin was typical of hundreds of others. He informed his Berlin headquarters that the party held 119 discussion evenings in the town of Gadebusch, 112 in Ludwigslust, fifty-two in Parchim and sixty-eight in Schwerin. All small towns, and all in the period of one month!

The Communist secretary of District Frankfurt-on-Oder reported—two weeks before the election—that 135 city blocks and farm communities had pledged a 100 per cent vote for the "National Front list" of candidates. He further reported that his section of the party had 1,005 "enlighteners" available for meetings or home discussions. One thousand and five "enlighteners" who go to the city blocks and farm communities and "volunteer" to explain the issues of the campaign. Records are kept of those living in the block or the farm community who fail to show up for "enlightenment."

In spite of all the pressure, there still were thousands of Germans who viewed the October 17 election as a farce and stayed home. These have since been dealt with. The Communist East German press agency sent out a story four days after the election stating that three workers, employed at the state-owned heavy-industry machine works in Wildau, Saxony, were fired because they had "distanced themselves from the program of peaceful reconstruction" through their fail-

## Stimmzettel

für die  
Wahl zur Volkskammer der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik

### Liste der Nationalen Front des demokratischen Deutschland

Rau, Heinrich	SED
Ganter-Gilmans, Hans-Paul	CDU
Wünneke, Kurt	LDPD
Dallmann, Siegfried	NDPD
Roch, Paul	DBD
Genier, Paul	PDGB
Mascher, Hanna-Wolfram	FDJ
Will, Else	DFD
Berthel, Kurt	Kulturbund
Kawow, Martha	VEGB
Tauschke, Ingeborg	KG

Fischer, Rosel	NDPD	Schmidt, Else	DBD
Grahe, Martin	CDU	Schmidt, Richard	SED
Hänsel, Nelly	CDU	Schmek, Bruno-Lude	DFD
Kerr, Vilmos	NDPD	Sitz, Kurt	SED
Krieger, Prof. Dr. Herbert	SED	Rabe, Ernst-August	LDPD
Makoprana, Ernst	DBD	Ullmann, Erich	LDPP
Neumann, Alfred	SED	Weidenbach-Böhm, Dr. Cecile	PDGB
Schlesier, Willi	FDGB	Weintraud-Ritska, Else	NDPD
Schmidt, Berthold	SED	Wittkowki, Dr. Margarete	SED

und die anderen, amlich bekannten Kandidaten

*The Communist 'ballot' looks like this.  
There's just one slate—and this is it*

ure to vote. Other non-voters have been receiving similar treatment.

The foregoing is but a spot report of how Soviet-style "elections" are conducted. Since October 17 the number of political refugees fleeing East Germany and asking for asylum in West Berlin has increased to 300 daily. These escapees tell of a new low in the morale of East Germans. They tell of a new low in morale but also of a hope that the humiliation and the degradation the 18,000,000 East Germans are now being subjected to under Communist domination will some day come to an end.

They hope—with countless millions of other unfortunates behind the Iron Curtain—that the Western allies, including the mighty United States, will some day, somehow, assist in bringing about their liberation.

NEVER BEFORE has it been so essential for every citizen to know what is happening and also what it really means. That's why everybody should listen regularly to Edward P. Morgan on the ABC network. Tune in his nightly broadcasts and you will become one of the best-informed citizens in your community. Listen to Morgan on ABC, beginning January 3. And please tell all your friends to tune in, too.

# Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►The National Federation of Post-office Clerks asked 4,000 newspapers and radio and television stations to join in a three-pronged nationwide drive to speed Christmas mail handling. The A. F. of L. affiliate issued a set of "simple mailing rules" to make the movement of Christmas mail smoother and faster.

►The A. F. of L. Government Employes' Council has charged that the Civil Service Commission is seeking "to improve the merit system by destroying it." The Government Employes' Council condemned the transfer of federal workers' jobs from the merit system "to the political schedules."

►Local 101, Typographical Union, Washington, D. C., will celebrate its 140th anniversary this month with a dinner-dance at the Mayflower Hotel. Formed originally under the name "Columbia Typographical Society," Local 101 claims the distinction of being the nation's oldest union in continuous existence.

►Local 76 of the Office Employes has obtained a wage increase and improved vacation plan at the National Biscuit Company, Providence, R. I.

►Increased wages, a 40-hour week and fringe benefits have been won by Local 510 of the State, County and Municipal Employes at International Falls, Minn.

►The Street Railway and Motor Coach Employes in San Francisco won an improved contract with Pacific Greyhound Lines after a strike which lasted only eight minutes.

►Edward Corsi, going out as Industrial Commissioner in New York State, urged the Joint Legislative Committee on Industrial and Labor Conditions to refuse to listen to "any demands for repressive legislation or so-called right-to-work laws." The Empire State, Mr. Corsi said, should continue "allowing the voluntary processes to operate as completely as possible."

►The National Labor Relations Board found the Studebaker Corporation not guilty of unfair labor practices in suspending nineteen workers who drove automobiles made by companies other than Studebaker.



**William Harris (center), former Texas leader, with present Federation chiefs**

►A televised course on labor-management relations will be launched by Rutgers University on January 31. There will be a series of thirteen programs. Viewers at home will be able to participate personally. Those passing a written examination at the close of the series will receive a certificate attesting successful completion of the course.

►Lodge 758, Machinists, has secured wage boosts averaging twelve cents an hour in a contract renewal with Timm Industries, Los Angeles.

►Local 114 of the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers has negotiated two new agreements at Ada, Okla.

►Local 29 of the Office Employes, Oakland, Calif., has renewed its contracts with Bireley's, Cutter Laboratories and the Oakland food industry.

►Local 302 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes has won recent representation elections at five New York City cafeterias.

►The Bakery Workers have negotiated a new contract covering pie, doughnut and pastry shops in Springfield, Mo.

►Minnesota Local 3 of the Bricklayers has signed a new contract giving its 200 Minneapolis members a wage rate increase.



**Atlanta trade unionists decided that it was time to frisk and frolic. The party was enjoyed hugely. Some of the children appear a trifle puzzled**

►T  
ple  
Ca  
to  
cer  
inc  
six  
ins  
ant

►E  
sto  
wo  
vic  
tail  
in  
Kan

►Lo  
hou  
Jer  
ach  
in  
the

►Lo  
high  
wee  
regi  
day  
Sup

►Lo  
Car  
agre  
vac  
sion

►Th  
new  
out  
craf  
loc

►Imp  
dition  
19,  
tal a  
Com

►Loc  
ated  
chin  
dix  
Iowa

►Loc  
ment  
wage

►Loc  
achie  
Fort

►The  
an e  
Prod

JANU

The Cemetery Workers have completed a new accord with Chicago's Catholic cemeteries which is believed to be the best contract in existence for cemetery workers. The pact calls for increased wages, three-week vacations, six paid holidays, a pension plan, life insurance, hospitalization and a guaranteed workweek.

Elections at fifteen Kroger grocery stores in Northern Missouri have been won by Local 782, Retail Clerks. The victories bring to 100 per cent the Retail Clerks' representation of employees in the Kroger stores of Missouri and Kansas.

Local 56, Food Workers, has won hourly wage increases at three New Jersey concerns. The gains have been achieved at the Scull Coffee Company in Camden, Seiler's in Trenton and the Moyer-Mitchell plant at Ashland.

Local 83, Cement Workers, has won higher wages for the normal workweek and two and one-half times the regular rate for work done on holidays at the Ideal Cement Company, Superior, Nebr.

Local 79, Teamsters, and the Florida Cartage Company, Tampa, Fla., have agreed on an hourly wage increase, vacations, health and welfare provisions and other benefits.

The Carpenters have established a new local at Newton, Kans. It starts out with a large group of the skilled craftsmen and has the cooperation of local unions in the surrounding areas.

Improved wages and working conditions have been obtained by Local 19, Office Employees, in a supplemental agreement with the Toledo Edison Company, Edison, Ohio.

Lodge 108, Machinists, has negotiated wage boosts for tool room machinists and tool platers at the Bendix Aviation Corporation, Davenport, Iowa.

Local 903 of the Plasterers and Cement Masons has achieved increased wages at Shreveport, La.

Local 286, Public Employes, has achieved an improved contract at Fort Thomas, Ky.

The A. F. of L. Auto Workers swept an election held at the Crown Steel Products Company, Orville, Ohio.

Wage increases and other improvements are included in a new accord reached between Federal Labor Union 24428 and the Bucyrus-Erie Company, Evansville, Ind. A. F. of L. Regional Director Hugh Gormley assisted the union in the negotiations.

Local 331 of the Teamsters and milk distributors of the Atlantic City area have signed a two-year contract bringing wages and working conditions into line with industry standards in Philadelphia and Southern New Jersey.

Local 395 of the Retail Clerks has signed a first agreement with the Furr Foods chain in Colorado Springs, Colo. The union shop, a shorter workweek and fringe benefits are provided. This is Colorado Springs' first contract covering grocery clerks.

Broadened health and welfare provisions and an across-the-board pay hike are included in a one-year pact between Local 195, Butcher Workmen, and the Arbogast and Bastian Company, Allentown, Pa.

Lodge 1736, Machinists, has negotiated a first contract with Ironwood Trailer Coaches in Louisville, Ky. The two-year contract calls for the union shop, dues checkoff, paid vacations and wage increases.

A wage increase, said to be the first to be obtained through negotiations in the history of Montgomery Ward, has been won in Chicago by Local 743, Warehouse and Mail Order Employees.

Federal Labor Union 23640 and the Devoe-Raynolds Company, Princeton, Ind., have agreed to extend their current contract for one more year.

A dedication ceremony was held recently for the newly completed Gertrude Lane Memorial Auditorium in New York City. Erected by Local 6 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes, the auditorium was officially dedicated by International President E. S. Miller. The auditorium honors the memory of the late secretary-treasurer of Local 6.

The Paper Makers have signed new agreements with seven New England paper companies calling for wage increases and fringe benefits. The plants are located in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont.

Local 28 of the Upholsterers was forced to strike at the Hummel Furniture Manufacturing Company, Berkeley, Calif., after a breakdown in negotiations involving job classifications.

Local 97, Technical Engineers, has renewed its contract with the Bethlehem Steel Company at the Pottstown, Pa., works. A pay increase and improvements in the pension plan were gained in the new pact.

The Machinists in St. Louis have signed a first agreement with the Browning Arms Company. Wage boosts and standard fringe provisions were obtained.

Local 47, United Garment Workers, has won a new two-year contract providing increased wages and fringe benefits at the Gelhaar Uniform Company, Kansas City, Mo.

Local 37, Bakery Workers, and the Retail Market Bakeries in Los Angeles have negotiated an agreement which raises wages 10 cents an hour and provides two additional holidays.

# READ

*The American*  
**FEDERATIONIST**  
LABOR'S MAGAZINE



Tell your friends to subscribe. Timely, worthwhile reading in every issue. And the price is only \$2 a year.

►An improved contract has been achieved by Local 180, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, through negotiations with the Omaha Body and Equipment Company, Omaha, Nebr.

►Local 23 of the Technical Engineers won a bitterly contested representation election held among laboratory technicians at the Ralston Purina Company.

►Three agreements have been signed by Local 240, Bakery Workers, in Denver, Colo. The pacts are with the Doran Nut Company, the Mountain States Bean Company and the Colorado Potato Flake Company.

►A wage increase and a third week of paid vacation have been won by 1,000 members of the International Association of Machinists employed by the Railway Express Agency.

►Local 1, Operating Engineers, has reached agreements in Denver, Colo., with Safeway Stores and the National Foods Company meat-packing plant.



A. F. of L. Secretary Schnitzler addressed the Tennessee Fed. President Smith is at right

►An increase in pay and a health and welfare program have been achieved by Local 448 of the Retail Clerks in negotiations with the Retail Trades Bureau Association at Everett, Wash. The employer group represents eighteen stores.

►Local 880, Retail Clerks, has concluded a contract covering most of the major food chains and independents in Cleveland and vicinity.

►Wage increases and other benefits are included in a new accord negotiated by Federal Labor Union 22630 and the Continental Roll Steel Company, East Chicago, Ill.

►Local 925, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, in a new pact with the Fruehauf Trailer Company, Avon Lake, Ohio, has won a 12-cent hourly package increase.

►Local 149 of the Butcher Workmen, Baltimore, has signed new wage agreements with the Corkran Hill, Swift and Armour plants in that city. The pacts provide higher wages and other benefits.

►Local 1086 of the Retail Clerks has won wage increases and a revised vacation schedule at the Lincoln Bakery in Minneapolis.

►Local 657, Butcher Workmen, has signed a first contract with the Smith, Richardson and Conroy stores in Miami and West Palm Beach, Fla.

## 'UNION WAS ESSENTIAL'

From the opinion of Chief Justice William Howard Taft, in the Supreme Court of the United States, December 5, 1921, in the case of American Steel Foundries versus Tri-City Central Trades Council.

LABOR UNIONS are recognized by the Clayton Act as legal when instituted for mutual help and lawfully carrying out their legitimate objects. They have long been thus recognized by the courts. They were organized out of the necessities of the situation.

A single employee was helpless in dealing with an employer. He was dependent ordinarily on his daily wage for the maintenance of himself and family. If the employer refused to pay him the wages that he thought fair, he was nevertheless unable to leave the employ and to resist arbitrary and unfair treatment.

Union was essential to give laborers opportunity to deal on equality with their employer. They united to exert influence upon him and to leave him in a body in order by this inconvenience to induce him to make better terms with them. They were withholding their labor of economic value to make him pay what they thought

it was worth. The right to combine for such a lawful purpose has in many years not been denied by any court.

The strike became a lawful instrument in a lawful economic struggle or competition between employers and employees as to the share or division between them of the joint product of labor and capital.

To render this combination at all effective, employees must make their combination extend beyond one shop. It is helpful to have as many as may be in the same trade in the same community united, because in the competition between employers they are bound to be affected by the standard of wages of their trade in the neighborhood.

Therefore, they may use all lawful propaganda to enlarge their membership and especially among those whose labor at lower wages will injure their whole guild.

# U.S. Farm Workers Are Paid the Least

By **SEYMOUR BRANDWEIN**  
*Staff Economist, A. F. of L.*

FARM workers are by far the lowest paid of any group of American workers, but few people realize just how little they actually make. There is a tendency to think that the minimum wage required by the Wage and Hour Law serves as some protection for all workers. The fact is that farm workers are excluded from this protection. Their employers are not required to pay them even the low minimum of 75 cents an hour fixed by law.

Last spring—the season when the average wage for farm workers is at its lowest—the average hourly pay for hired farm workers was only 58 cents an hour. This average is not pulled down by the inclusion of members of farmer families; it refers only to the hired workers. And it should be remembered that many hired workers earn far less than the 58-cent average.

During the peak harvest season—about October 1 this year—the average wage for hired farm workers was 68 cents, the Department of Agriculture reported. This was two cents less than at the same time last year.

There are important regional differences in farm worker wages, but in only one region did the average creep above \$1 in October, 1954. This was on the Pacific Coast where the average was \$1.05.

The lowest pay is in the Southern states, which have the majority of the hired farm workers. The average in October in South Carolina was not quite 40 cents an hour. It was 45 cents in Georgia and Mississippi and only two cents higher in Alabama and Tennessee.

These wage levels contrast not only with the 75-cent minimum of the Wage and Hour Law but with the \$1.31 per hour earned by the average factory worker in September of this year. In the Southern states alone the average factory worker is now paid roughly three times as much as the average hired agricultural worker.

These low-paid farm workers are

not a mere handful. They number well over 2,000,000 and, during the peak season, rise to over 3,000,000.

The common notion that farm workers are largely year-round hands who eat at the farmer's family table is misleading. Only some five per cent of all farm workers are employed throughout the year on small farms under this type of arrangement. The overwhelming majority work several months a year on the large-scale, industrial-type farms. And more than a fifth of hired farm workers are migratory workers who travel in search of work from one region to another with the changing seasons.

The low wage rates reflect only part of the plight of the average farm workers. Most farm hands can look to only limited employment. Much of the time of the migratory workers is taken up in moving and in waiting for crops to ripen.

THE most recent study available on annual earnings of farm workers is for the year 1952. It showed that 75 per cent of all hired farm workers (who had at least twenty-five days or more of farm employment) earned wages of less than \$1400 that year. Only 13 per cent earned more than \$2000.

This same study, by the U.S. De-

partment of Agriculture, presented another noteworthy statistic. Those farm workers who put in at least twenty-five days or more of work on a farm during the year earned an average of only \$900 over the entire year. About \$660 of this was earned from an average of some 136 days of available farm work, while the remainder was pieced together from some thirty-two days of employment obtained in non-farm jobs.

The result is reflected not only in the substandard level of living of most of these workers but in the fact that the heads of farm worker families are forced to send their wives and children to work in the fields at every opportunity to eke out some additional income.

As one concrete means of helping to ease their plight, the American Federation of Labor and its National Agricultural Workers Union have long urged the enactment of a legal minimum wage floor for hired farm workers on at least the large-scale, industrial-type farm enterprises (as distinguished from members of a farmer's family or the occasional hired hand on a family-type farm).

The conscience of the American people requires that such provision of the long-overdue decent livable minimum wage standard for farm workers be made a major order of business for the new Congress which comes in this month.

## Forced Labor on '56 Agenda

(Continued from Page 9)

I.L.O. also dealt with a proposal, submitted by the workers' group, to review the I.L.O.'s constitution. It is felt that worker and employer delegates should be barred if they have not been nominated by organizations of workers and employers which are clearly free and independent of their governments. The workers' group desires clarification of Article 3, Section 5, of the I.L.O. constitution which deals with the nomination of employer and worker delegates.

The workers' proposal at the Gov-

erning Body's meeting arose as a result of the disagreement evidenced at the 1954 International Labor Conference. There the employer and worker delegates from the Iron Curtain countries were seated as delegates despite the vigorous opposition of employer and worker members of the conference from the non-totalitarian countries.

The Governing Body decided to convene the first European Regional Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, from January 24 through February 5,



1955. It gave a vote of confidence to its Committee on Freedom of Association as a result of allegations made by the U.S.S.R. government delegate that the decisions of the Committee on Freedom of Association were "biased" against the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions. The Governing Body also agreed to hold a special meeting of worker and employer delegates to consider the conditions of personnel in civil aviation and to call a session of the Joint Maritime Commission looking toward the revision

of the convention on wages and hours of work at sea.

The Governing Body decided to consider a request for a session of the I.L.O.'s general conference to deal with maritime questions.

The Rome meeting also adopted a report calling attention to the "uncertainty and insufficiency of the total amount of funds" available to carry out the U.N.'s Expanded Technical Assistance Program and it took note of a Joint I.L.O.-World Health Organization committee report making rec-

ommendations designed to improve the hygiene of seafarers.

In addition to forced labor, the following items were placed on the agenda for the 1956 International Labor Conference: (1) weekly rest in commerce and offices, and (2) living and working conditions of indigenous populations of independent countries.

The Rome meeting was the 127th session of the I.L.O.'s Governing Body. The I.L.O. was born after World War I.

## Will Congress Do Anything?

(Continued from Page 3)

been noted that 43 per cent of all school plants contain only one room. Yet for the different states this percentage varies from 1.5 per cent in Rhode Island to 85 per cent in South Dakota. While the percentage is highest in states with large rural populations, it is relatively low in states which have actively fostered a school consolidation program.

The age of school buildings also varies sharply among the states. Buildings fifty years old run from 0.15 per cent in Mississippi to 66 per cent in Vermont. There may be sharp differences between states located in the same region of the country. In Wisconsin 57 per cent of school buildings are over fifty years old, but in Indiana the percentage is only 21 per cent.

The percentages of pupils needing new school housing also have wide variations. The figure is less than 15 per cent in North Dakota and 57 per cent in Maine. States with percentages over 45 are found in all parts of the country and include Arkansas, Louisiana, Nebraska, Nevada, New

Hampshire, New Mexico and Washington, in addition to Maine.

These sharp differences among the states make it evident that the need for school construction in many states is far greater than their available resources.

In spite of this demonstrated need, the Administration has actively opposed all legislation to grant federal funds for school construction. Secretary Hobby has issued one statement after another in opposition. She has asked that action be held up until the White House Conference on Education, which will be held in 1955, makes its recommendations. Some have suggested that not only is Secretary Hobby's suggestion a stalling action but that the composition of the committee appointed to handle the conference leads to the conclusion it is stacked against federal aid legislation.

Secretary Hobby has raised the old bugaboo of "federal interference in the control and direction of education." She has also stated that a federal program "might actually slow up

and decrease state and local expenditures for this purpose."

These arguments are spurious. The need has been amply demonstrated. Proper safeguards can be written into legislation to prevent federal domination and the program can be designed to stimulate, not retard state and local expenditures.

The American Federation of Labor is convinced that federal action is needed to solve the crisis in education. Every effort will be made to pass needed legislation so that the schools our children so sorely need can be constructed.

This is a project that deserves the support of every affiliated union, that is vital to every parent and that is needed to insure the future growth of our country.

The U.S. Office of Education has said:

"The nation's public elementary and secondary school population needs additional floor space equal to a one-story building fifty-two feet wide, extending from New York City to San Francisco."

What greater problem confronts the American people?

It behoves the Eighty-fourth Congress to act—and act promptly.

quency. For another, the wrong job may be a further push in his drift into anti-social conduct.

"Work at night or in an undesirable environment may turn a potential delinquent into an actual one. Excessive employment often causes a child to fall behind in his school work and may lead to truancy. Leaving school is more apt to increase than to cure maladjustment, for industry cannot give children with problems the individual understanding and guidance they need."

## Decent Homes, Less Delinquency

(Continued from Page 15)

Senate Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, before it opened hearings last spring, to suggest points relating to employment that should be considered.

"Subsequently we also presented testimony at the Washington hearings. The Committee expressed the belief that there is no general relationship between employment, per

se, and juvenile delinquency. Delinquency is the result of the interplay of many forces, internal and external.

"Employment is one of these factors. Whether its effect is desirable or undesirable can be determined only in terms of the individual child and the specific job. For one child suitable work experience may be a steady influence and a deterrent to delin-

## Strength and Weakness

(Continued from Page 8)

resented. There was no pretense of collective bargaining. Sharp criticism has come from F.O. Secretary André Lafond. He has been joined by the leaders of the Christian trade unions. They have called the government "paternalistic" in its handling of wages and union questions.

Unilateral action by Prime Minister Mendès-France is not confined to labor matters. There is gradually growing a form of national authoritarianism affecting newspapers, radio, general economic matters and even the handling of the colonial problem. This has led to what appears to be a *rapprochement* between Mendès-France and deGaulle.

Is it too early to say that "Gaullism" has reached power in France without deGaulle? The final answer may come when and if the Socialists decide to enter the government. For here we see the essential difference between party government under democracy and one-man government with the forms of democracy. The terms of entrance as posed by the Prime Minister would make the Socialist Party a prisoner of his system, while the approach of the Socialist leader, Guy Mollet, could constitute a democratic strengthening of the government plus a guarantee against any moving away from a solid anti-Communist and pro-Atlantic Alliance position.

The Communist-run C.G.T. and the French Communist Party, having won a major victory in the rejection of the European Army, have been playing a cautious and subdued game on the domestic front. The Paris agreements and the integration of Western Germany into NATO produced none of the violence and bitterness witnessed in the anti-EDC campaign. The Communists in France are confining themselves to the "normal" C.P. activities, with a noticeable increase in efforts on the anti-colonial front.

It would appear that Moscow more or less expected the Paris accords. This means that the Soviets' field of activity is mainly shifted to Germany, where the effects of the Mendès-France government offer the Kremlin real possibilities to exploit and win over German nationalism to a *modus vivendi* with the Soviet empire.

In Germany there have been some exciting developments as a wave of strikes broke out at the end of the summer in the metal and transport sectors. These strikes reveal the shift toward a militant program for increased wages as against what has been an anti-inflationary economic policy on the part of the West German trade unions.

The growth of such a movement, especially among the metal workers, is in contrast to the philosophy of a number of the trade union leaders in West Germany who believe that through co-determination and a moderate policy on wages the general economy of the country will so improve that workers will benefit normally and naturally. But it has become quite clear in recent months that West German prosperity and the piling up of enormous profits do not automatically mean economic and social benefits for those who toil. It is necessary for labor to fight more militantly and even to resort to strikes in order to get its fair share of the prosperity.

Under the impact of these new and militant forces, the convention of the West German Federation of Labor, held at Frankfort in October, endorsed a program which includes the following demands:

- (1) The forty-hour, five-day week.
- (2) Equal wages for men and women doing the same job. (The differential now is 15 to 20 per cent.)
- (3) Nationalization of key industries.
- (4) Expansion of co-determination in the industrial structure of the nation.
- (5) Opposition to any anti-strike legislation and to arbitration schemes which could lead to compulsory arbitration.

While adopting these demands, the West German unions at the same time took a strong position against any rearmament of Western Germany prior to a conference between the Soviet Union and the Western powers in order to attempt to achieve the reunification of East and West Germany. This reflects the fundamental desire of most Germans to do every-

thing possible to reunite their nation as well as reflecting the position of the Social Democratic Party.

Although taking this position, which is in effect against the Paris agreement integrating Western Germany into NATO, the German unions have made it perfectly clear that they will reject any and all contact with the East German unions. These are denounced as state company unions under Soviet tutelage. This also reflects the position of the Social Democratic Party which, although calling for a conference with the Russians, has refused in any way to recognize the legitimacy of the East German government. They regard it as a creature of the Soviet occupation authorities.

One other interesting European development took place recently at Geneva, Switzerland. At the I.L.O. Iron and Steel Industrial Committee meeting, one of the important proposals of the free trade unions was defeated by a combined vote of the employers and the Communists inclusive of the East European and Soviet representatives.

The proposal of Renard, one of the leaders of the Belgian metal workers, to secure a form of tripartite system of agreements in the Coal, Iron and Steel Community would have led to a strengthening of labor's role in any eventual Western economic union. This has now been sidetracked not only by the traditional shortsightedness of the employers but the reckless, irresponsible and unprincipled activities of the Soviet-controlled unions.

This underscores once again the danger of the presence of the Soviet unions in such institutions as the International Labor Organization, where they are ready to cooperate with employers.



### DRIVE CAREFULLY

*Don't be in a hurry. Watch what you're doing. It's much better by far to live and be happy than to cripple or kill yourself or members of your family. If you want to live to see the new year through, be sure to drive carefully. Thousands will be killed on America's highways in 1955. You can do your part to stay off that death list by being a thoughtful, careful driver always. Don't be foolish. Don't gamble with your life.*

## Labor's Troubles in Iowa

(Continued from Page 21)

very important evil of Iowa's compulsory open shop law—or any similar law anywhere—is that it is class legislation. No other economic or social group is so restricted. No other economic or social group has its normal function so regulated under the criminal code.

This unfair law is not workable in Iowa. In full agreement with the unions of their employes, some employers have maintained types of union security as the surest and most effective way to have work performed efficiently by skilled journeymen and apprentices, to provide for responsible unions which abide by their contracts and to maintain industrial peace at the high level which Iowa has always enjoyed.

The compulsory open shop law makes for irresponsible unionism. Any union which must bow to every whim of a minority, including toleration of wildcat strikes, or face a loss in membership and therefore a loss in bargaining strength, cannot be a responsible union. On the other hand, a union which is controlled, within the rules, by a majority of its membership can agree to a contract and then live up to it in every particular—in the American tradition.

The so-called "right to work" law was passed by Iowa's fifty-second General Assembly. Time went by, and then, prior to the election of the fifty-fourth General Assembly, the Republican and Democratic parties both adopted platforms urging the amendment of anti-labor legislation to permit the union shop.

The Iowa State Federation of Labor subsequently submitted to the Legislature a short bill asserting that "nothing \* \* \* shall preclude an employer from making a collective bargaining contract or agreement with a labor organization to require, as a condition of employment, membership therein on or after the thirtieth day following the beginning of such employment or the effective date of such agreement, whichever is the later."

The bill which we offered also called for knocking out that part of the section on deduction of dues which requires the worker's wife or husband to co-sign the employe's deduction authorization. This is the

only item of deduction where it is necessary to have one's spouse sign a statement of authorization. Certainly this represents class legislation.

In a General Assembly which had 105 Republican Representatives and three Democratic Representatives, forty-six Republican Senators and four Democratic Senators, the bill of the Iowa State Federation of Labor did not reach the floor in either chamber. Labor's bill died in the Sifting Committee.

When the Republican platform was being drafted last year, trade unionists appeared before the committee and again presented organized labor's case against the discriminatory "right to work" law. But when the text of the platform was released, it was found that nowhere did it voice any intention to amend the anti-labor statute. On the other hand, the Democratic platform, like earlier platforms, upheld the union shop and called for amendment of the law to permit employers and unions to negotiate union shop contracts.

There can be no question whatsoever that the misnamed "right to work" law in our state is an example of grossly unfair legislation. Its full impact has not yet been felt simply because, until last year, Iowa had not been confronted with a labor surplus. In a real depression or recession, however, the compulsory open shop law would be a most effective instrument in the hands of those desiring to demolish rapidly the high standards built up by organized labor through arduous efforts over a long period of time.

Untiring efforts of the Executive Board of the Iowa State Federation of Labor and of the A. F. of L. movement of Iowa as a whole have enabled us to knit more closely the organizational structure of the Iowa state branch of the American Federation of Labor. Through the various publications issued by the State Federation of Labor and through the local labor newspapers throughout the state, we have placed a steady flow of facts before the members of A. F. of L. unions.

During the last three years, as a result of hard work, nearly 100 local unions which were not previously affiliated have been shown the desir-

ability of joining the Iowa State Federation of Labor. This strengthening of the State Federation has been aided greatly by the fine cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and various international unions.

Some sixteen months ago the American Federation of Labor assigned George O'Hara to our state as general organizer. He has worked indefatigably to organize the unorganized workers of our state. And only a few months ago the Iowa State Federation of Labor was honored when John E. Cosgrove, our director of education, was called to Washington as assistant director of the Department of Education, American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Board of the Iowa State Federation of Labor comprises a full-time president and secretary-treasurer, a statewide vice-president and four district vice-presidents. The president is also the Federation's legislative representative. The vice-presidents assist with matters pertaining to the welfare of the movement over the state.

President Mills, who was first elected at the 1951 convention, came down the following year with a serious attack of polio. He has made a good recovery. He has traveled throughout Iowa on the business of the State Federation of Labor, and he has also traveled to Washington and to the annual A. F. of L. conventions.

In May of 1953 a resolution adopted by the Iowa State Federation of Labor convention set up the Iowa Labor's League for Political Education as a permanent organization. We are convinced that it will serve labor in a most valuable way in coming years.

In writing this article the chief aim of both authors has been to make vivid—for the labor movement as a whole—the enormous evils inherent in so-called "right to work" legislation. We shall feel well rewarded for our efforts if this article alerts our brother and sister trade unionists in other states to the menace of this kind of law. The combination of unfair legislators and catchy and completely false phrases can shackle free Americans and render their democratic unions helpless to defend those who toil.

Through the monstrosity of "right to work" legislation in the states, the enemies of labor are trying to complete the destructive job which the federal Taft-Hartley Act merely started.

The  
good  
anti-  
quer-  
sche-  
sent  
has  
good  
tion.  
The  
Was  
A. F.  
feder-  
of the  
more  
bann  
subc  
dent  
Walt  
prop  
nately  
At  
Of  
stake  
ger.  
that  
our  
men  
which  
mind  
action  
stake  
they  
—and  
Wh  
Mon  
collar  
focus.  
newsp  
umnis  
18,000  
collar  
comitt  
unioni  
The  
1954  
resolut  
courage  
of uni  
the wh  
tance  
Someth  
lift the  
into wh  
If or  
ized u  
wages  
themse  
cessful  
We ca  
large a  
held b  
being c  
using t  
employ

# COMMENTS OF OTHER PUBLICATIONS

## Labor Unity

From Electrical Workers' Journal

The news for unity on the labor front is good—good for us and very bad for our anti-labor enemies. The “divide and conquer” boys see disaster for many of their schemes provided organized labor as represented by the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. has the wisdom and the foresight and the good common sense to effect an amalgamation.

The Labor Unity Committee, meeting in Washington, set as its goal merger of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. into a single labor federation before the end of 1955. Terms of the amalgamation which would unite more than 14,000,000 workers under one banner will be worked out by a six-man subcommittee headed by A. F. of L. President George Meany and C.I.O. President Walter P. Reuther. The merger plan as proposed by the Unity Committee will definitely preserve the integrity of each affiliated national and international union.

Of course there are obstacles—great obstacles—that stand in the way of the merger. But if we will remember the obstacles that our forefathers overcame in building our labor movement and raising working men and women to the respected position which they hold today, and if we bear in mind the fruit of the merger—solidarity of action, strength of union—then the obstacles will not seem so great. We believe they can be overcome and will be overcome—and the rewards will be sweet.

## White-Collar Organizing

From Milwaukee Labor Press

More and more the plight of the white-collar worker is being brought into sharper focus. Lately even the national magazines, newspapers, radio commentators and columnists are turning to this problem of 18,000,000 underpaid and voiceless white-collar workers. The answer, noticeably omitted by these writers, is obviously unionization.

The American Federation of Labor at its 1954 convention unanimously adopted a resolution officially going on record to encourage the big job of bringing the benefits of unionism and collective bargaining to the white-collar worker. The problem of the white-collar worker is of prime importance to every union man and woman. Something unquestionably must be done to lift these workers from the economic morass into which they have fallen.

If only for purely selfish reasons, organized union members must help raise the wages of these 18,000,000 workers if they themselves wish to continue their own successful fight for a better standard of living. We cannot ourselves go ahead while so large a bloc of our fellow workers is being held back and exploited. And they are being exploited to the extent of employers using them as examples in saying to all employees:

“If they can live on \$50 a week, why can't you?”

There are between 15,000,000 and 20,000,000 white-collar workers in this country—most of them unorganized and underpaid. If each got a \$10-a-week raise, it would mean an annual boost of billions of dollars in increased purchasing power where it is needed most. That would mean a lot more homes, food, clothes, furnishings, etc., with many more jobs required to supply these demands.

## A New Threat

From The Typographical Journal

Legislation to make labor unions subject to anti-trust laws has been drafted for possible introduction in Congress early in January. And it has touched off a tiff between Commerce Secretary Weeks, who insists it must be done, and Labor Secretary Mitchell, who opposes it.

Immediate effect of such a law would be to ban many time-honored union practices and to confine collective bargaining to a single shop. Its far-reaching effects would be more union-busting than present provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law or any of the proposed anti-labor amendments to the law.

The issue is not new, and every member should recognize it as a serious threat to his union's bargaining power. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 provided “every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal.” Employers waged a long and continuous campaign to bring labor unions under this provision and courts issued injunctions based upon it—strike-breaking in its worst form!

Years later a Democratic Congress passed the Clayton Act to reverse the ruling of the court. Its Section 6 provided:

“That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agricultural or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purpose of mutual help, and not having capital stock or conducted for profit, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof; nor shall such organizations, or members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, under the anti-trust laws.”

Section 20 of the Clayton Act prohibited restraining orders or injunctions in any case growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or a property right. Persons charged with contempt under the law were entitled to a change of venue or a jury trial. But in at least thirty decisions on this section within twenty years, federal judges issued injunctions and often refused jury trials for contempt. Thus was labor

robbed of the fruits of its 1914 legislative victory by the courts.

In 1932 the Norris-LaGuardia Act recognized that the injunction in labor disputes was a pernicious evil, prohibited most injunctions in labor disputes, barred the yellow-dog contract, listed lawful practices of labor unions and regulated contempt proceedings against them. These things were further strengthened by the Wagner Act.

With the Taft-Hartley Act the era of government by injunction has been revived and the old conspiracy laws have been given new life and killing power. Even the expressed intent of Congress as stated in the law has been juked by interpretation, and the more vicious aims of its sponsors substituted.

Success of the Administration's plan to put labor unions under the anti-trust laws would be the final step in the ambitious plan of big business to completely destroy us. And unless labor awakens to the danger, it can come as quickly as did Taft-Hartley.

## Textile Mergers

From Justice

The time is rapidly passing when the textile industry can be cited as a classic example of one in which price is determined by the balance of supply and demand and the corrective action of competition among firms. There are more companies in the field today than there were ten years ago. But the conditions of the industry are such that, in respect to size of firm, there appears to be a tendency for the big ones to get bigger and the small ones to become more precarious. Two trends now manifest in the industry are: a decided economic improvement with volume going up; a series of mergers which are bound to result in the ultimate appearance of a number of giants who will dominate the price structure of the entire industry.

The rise in the volume of production is an encouraging sign for an industry that has suffered a long ailment. Yet if the past is any guide, this rise may very well be countered with price manipulations that profit-hungry firms are anxious to make in order to get ahead of the lean years of low profits. Such manipulation becomes increasingly possible with the growth of giant industrial leaders in textiles.



# WHAT THEY SAY

**George Meany, A. F. of L. president**—The extent to which American industry is in fact subject to jeopardy from imports has been greatly overstated. Statements have been made which imply 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 Amer-



ican workers would be in danger of losing their jobs as a result of competitive imports should tariffs and other protections be removed. This is sheer nonsense. To have this effect our imports would have to rise by about \$25,000,000,000 a year, the equivalent of one-third of all world exports to all countries. Such a diversion to our shores is inconceivable. The Bell report on U.S. trade and tariff policy estimated that its recommendations for a comprehensive but limited tariff revision should result, over a three- to five-year period, in a maximum displacement of some 45,000 workers at the outside. I believe displacement even on this scale can be avoided. What we look forward to is a gradual and not a sudden reduction in tariff schedules, with full opportunity for necessary adjustments in the limited areas to be affected. Where adjustments are clearly unavoidable and are in the national interest, they should be accompanied by special measures to assist both the enterprises and the workers concerned.

**Matthew Woll, president, Union Labor Life Insurance Company**—Be-



cause of a father's or mother's thoughtful consideration of their future, there's many a lad and lass who have started along the way toward a financial-

ly secure future of their own. Perhaps the greatest single savings feature devised for our children is the juvenile insurance policy, and because we realize its importance as a vital consideration in the thrift arrangements of

the American family, our company features an excellent portfolio of juvenile protection. There's no better way to measure the success of the various insurance plans for young ones than to go to our extensive file of correspondence. Here, very often in inspired detail, we have a record of the great good accomplished via this sound method of creating a fund in trust for our children. The Union Labor Life has reached an age where we can trace case histories. Infants insured with our company more than twenty years ago have very often used the due proceeds of their policies to further their education. Some have considered their juvenile insurance as the cornerstone of the estate they desire to create, and as prudent men and women they have built a sturdier foundation through added insurance.

**William Schoenberg, president emeritus, Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers**—It was



a great thing to me when, a few years ago, an American Federation of Labor convention officially decided to participate in the political activities of our country and, as an economic organization, take care of our economic interests on the political field. I can remember the British trade union movement when it was purely economic, and it was because of a very vicious act of the British government that the Trades Union Congress of Britain finally decided to participate in politics. They were not immediately successful. Gradually, as they remained active in the political field, they became the largest political party of Great Britain. I am fully in accord with and I am very sympathetic to everything that Labor's League for Political Education has been doing. The Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers have been doing everything humanly possible to cooperate with Labor's League. We have been urging our local unions, at the local level, to carry out all the instructions and requests which come to them from the

League. I can visualize that eventually, right here in this country, the trade union movement will be the greatest exponent of the economic activities in the political field.

**James A. Brownlow, president, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.**



—If the United States is to keep its place as the leading nation of the world, one of its most important assets is a strong merchant marine, adequately manned, reinforced by shipbuilding and ship-repair yards employing skilled shipbuilding and ship-repair mechanics in sufficient numbers to assure us of a merchant fleet commensurate with our standing among the nations of the world. The Metal Trades Department has long affirmed that shipbuilding and ship-repair work is essential to keep a reasonable number of skilled mechanics in training and available for ship construction and repair work. The United States should retain its standing among the commercial nations of the world. United States flag ships should sail all seas and penetrate all harbors, carrying our exports and imports.

**Harry E. O'Reilly, A. F. of L. director of organization**—We regard 1955



as a year of great opportunity. Millions of unorganized workers urgently need the benefits of membership in trade unions. Steps have been taken to strengthen the organizing program of the American Federation of Labor so that the ever-increasing demands from the unorganized workers seeking union protection can be met. The opportunity for organizing progress in the new year is vast. The unorganized are tired of receiving wages that are inadequate. The unorganized are tired of the insecurity which is always the lot of workers who do not belong to trade unions. In making it possible for these men and women to join organized labor we will be doing something which will be very good for these workers and for the country.

# Recipe for Living

"TAKE half a dozen boys and girls, a good idea and a frosty day," said Mrs. Sears. "Scramble together well on a snowy hillside. Let mixture work in the crisp air." And she turned away from the window.

"That sounds like the recipe for something pretty zesty," her mother, Mrs. Trott, replied from her rocking chair.

"From the looks of the sledding party on the high slope, it is," Mrs. Sears said. "And I have an idea that before long there will be a call for a few side dishes to supplement this recipe." She smiled. "I think I'll set out the things for hot cocoa now and the rolls and sandwich spread."

As Mrs. Sears stepped toward the kitchen, her mother, who made her home with the Sears family, snapped on the table light by her chair. She picked up the magazine she had been leafing through and resumed glancing at the colorful pages. Although she seemed to be occupied, the older woman was really listening for the boys and girls. Nothing delighted her more than to have her grandchildren and their friends with her. All called her Grandmother Trott.

"I'm not old when they're here," she thought.

She heard the children's mother fixing things in the kitchen, and soon she heard the unmistakable sound of the sled runners and the *clump, clump* of the galosh-covered feet of the youngsters. She listened as they went around the house to the back door.

"They must be pretty snowy," she thought. "As long as they're going in the back, I'll go to the kitchen, too."

Grandmother Trott moved into the cheery kitchen.

"Can I help?" she asked.

"I expect so," her daughter answered. "As soon as they get unwrapped, I'll need an extra pair of hands."

She stepped to the door and opened it to let in the ruddy-cheeked young friends.

"Mother, may we unwrap inside?" asked Julia. "It's bitter cold on the porch."

"Yes, come in. Come in, every-

body. Jack, put some papers down for your galoshes, please."

"Give me those wet mittens," said Grandmother Trott. "I'll put them on the radiator to dry out a little."

"Smells mighty good in here," Sonny Holt said, as he warmed his hands by the oven.

"Toasted cheese, Mother?" asked Julia, peeping in the oven door.

Grandmother Trott was stirring the cocoa.

"How many cups of cocoa?" asked Mrs. Sears. "Six?"

"No, seven," said Vicki.

"I see only six," said Mrs. Sears.

"We're all here but Sally," Julia said. "Where's Sally?"

Everyone was surprised suddenly that Julia's friend was not in the warm kitchen.

"Where's Sally?" everybody demanded.

It was now quite dark outside. Mrs. Sears turned on the back porch light. Sally was nowhere to be seen. Grandmother Trott hurried through the house to the front door. She turned on the light. Then she took her heavy shawl from the clothes rack and went outside, calling the girl's name. No answer came. By the gate she thought she saw a huddled form. Disregarding her own comfort and safety, Grandmother Trott went down the snowy walk. By the gate, sure enough, she found a shivering, sobbing girl.

"Sally, it's Grandmother Trott. Let me help you."

"I'm so cold," Sally sobbed, "I just can't move. My legs hurt, too."

By this time Jack and Sonny came tearing around the house.

"Sally's here!" called out Grandmother as loudly as she could.

The boys and Grandmother put the girl on the sled and the boys pulled her to the front porch. Then Sonny and Jack assisted her into the house. The warmth and the light brought a wan smile to Sally's tear-streaked face.

"Whatever happened?" asked Mrs. Sears.

It took several minutes before Sally was strong enough to say much.

"Well, I know I shouldn't have done it. But just as we all left the top of the hill I thought I would like

to go zooming down the slope all by myself. No one else. No noise. Just me and space and flight." Sally paused. "So I did. Instead of coming along I lagged behind and then turned back to take a slide alone. It was wonderful."

Again the girl paused.

"Then coming back up the hill alone, in the dark, I guess I got kind of scared. It seemed I'd go up a little ways and then slip back. I called, but no one heard me. Then finally I got as far as the gate, and I just couldn't go any farther."

"You're safe and sound now, Sally," said Mrs. Sears. "Let's get our refreshments. And no more tears."

While Mrs. Sears poured the steaming chocolate and Julia passed the platter of sandwiches, the conversation around the kitchen table took a serious turn when Sally said:

"Isn't it strange how things work out? Here I'm the youngest in the bunch, and I was rescued by the oldest."

"It takes the old and the young to make a world," said Grandmother.

"And also the middle ones," said Mrs. Sears.

"It's just like that in everything, I think," said Jack. "Like take the new year. It takes the old, past years and the experiences of the last year for the new year to grow. Right?"

"You're absolutely right, Jack," said Sally. "If I had been alone much longer, I might have been frozen. But Grandmother Trott found me, the boys brought me in and Mrs. Sears gave me something nice and warm to eat and drink. So now I am all right."

"It's the working together that's the main thing," said Julia. "That's one of the first things we learned in our Junior Union."

"You're right as rain," said Mrs. Sears. "If we work together and build upon the fine things of the past, combined with the new ideas of the present, we'll have a wonderful future."

"Sounds like another wonderful recipe," Grandmother Trott remarked with a smile to her daughter. "And I think it will mix together to be another mighty zesty dish."

BEGINNING JAN. 3

EDWARD P.  
**MORGAN**

will bring you  
the **NEWS** on



NEVER BEFORE has it been so essential for every citizen to know what is happening and what it really means. That is why you should listen regularly to Edward P. Morgan on the ABC network. Tune in his broadcasts and you will become one of the best-informed citizens in your community. Listen to Morgan on ABC, beginning January 3. And please tell your friends to tune in, too.

